

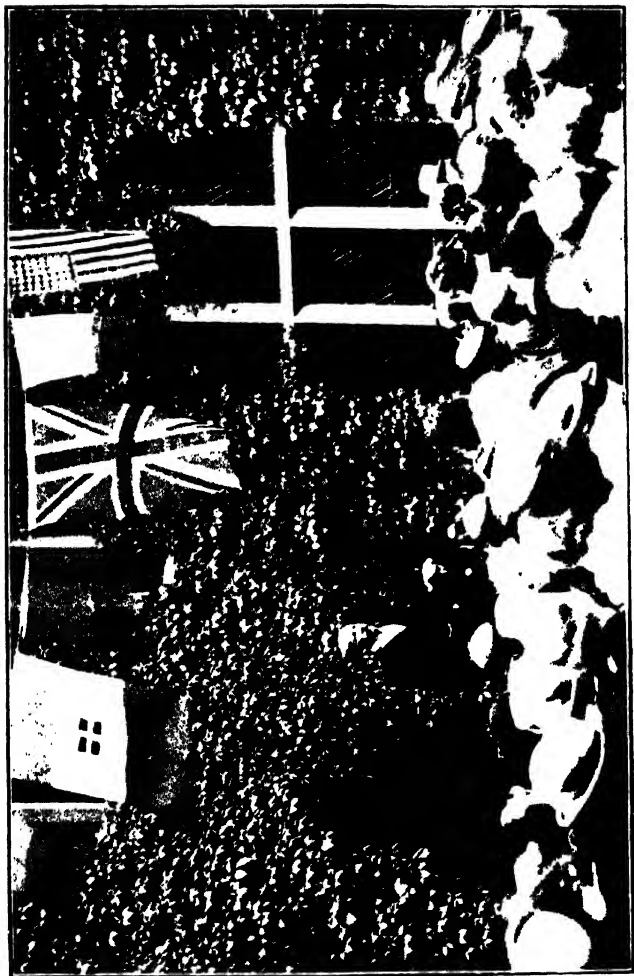
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SETTLEMENTS AND THEIR OUTLOOK



MRS. BARNETT AND LORD MILNER WELCOMING DELEGATES AT TOYNBEE HALL

SETTLEMENTS AND THEIR OUTLOOK

An Account of the
FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF SETTLEMENTS

Toynbee Hall, London, July 1922

PUBLISHED FOR
THE CONTINUATION COMMITTEE OF
THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SETTLEMENTS

BY

P. S. KING & SON, LTD.

Orchard House, 2 & 4 Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

1922

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY HEADLEY BROTHERS,
18, DEVONSHIRE STREET, E.C.2 ; AND ASHFORD, KENT.

PREFACE

A CONFERENCE lasting eight days and crowded with papers, addresses, discussions, visits and conversations, is not easy to report. To print the papers in full, adding a verbatim account of the addresses and discussions, might have been ideal from many points of view, but would have been too costly. A little volume of summaries and impressions could hardly have proved adequate, and would have disappointed the many delegates and the far larger number of Settlement workers unable to be present, who desire to possess in permanent form a record of what actually was said. Consequently it has been necessary to attempt a compromise, to make long quotations, and to preserve the setting and atmosphere of these by a certain amount of description and comment.

The nature of such a task demanded that it should be carried through by one person. The distance between the countries represented at the Conference made it impossible to consult the various members of the Continuation Committee during the process or before the result was printed. For all blemishes the compiler must therefore be held entirely responsible. But it is hoped that despite all its defects the present account of the Conference will serve as a happy reminder of memorable days and a prophetic token of still greater days to come.

B.A.Y.

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SETTLEMENTS AND THEIR OUTLOOK

CHAPTER I

THE CONFERENCE

IN the days of the New Theology movement a brilliant journalist characterised its founder as "The young man in a hurry." Canon Barnett was never that. He brought vague enthusiasms to earth and set to work upon world-wide problems within the limits of White-chapel. He possessed the secret of concentration upon a local task without any trace of parochialism. He directed infinite energies upon a very definite job. The result was that people heard from afar of what was happening in that little corner of London. They came on pilgrimage to see for themselves. They caught the vision and the spirit and went back to try the experiment in conditions often widely different from those faced by the residents at Toynbee. Settlements sprang up all over the world. Sometimes they knew and were known by many other Settlements. Oftener they were not, but went quietly on with their own quest, and had only very occasional contact with fellow-workers in other places. Even to-day it would be impossible to state with accuracy the number of Settlements in the world, or indeed, in any one country such as England, America, France or Germany. That there are at least a thousand

is certain. But whether there are two hundred more or five hundred more is a matter of sheer guesswork. There is nothing that could be called a literature of Settlements, though a few notable books have appeared and there must be a great mass of reports, essays, newspaper articles and other fugitive writings that may or may not have been preserved. In England and America there have been developing more or less loose federations of Settlements. But though Toynbee Hall was founded nearly fifty years ago there has never till now been an International Conference.

This fact has positive value and significance. There has been time for individual Settlement experience to ripen, and for national characteristics and problems to emerge. Standardisation would be the death of Settlements. The material for a constructive conference has accumulated slowly but surely. It has become clear that Canon Barnett's fundamental principle of "getting together" is as final for the solution of national and international problems as for those of the neighbourhood, and that when you begin to apply it at your own door it will inevitably come into play in the wider fields. But you cannot begin with the whole world. In short, the practical outcome of the Settlement Movement accords exactly with the doctrine which social and political thinkers like Miss Follet and Lord Haldane are declaring in *The New State* and the Introduction thereto. The first International Conference of Settlements is all the more convincing because it is the enforced outcome of half a century of unhurried growth. It is all the more striking because it comes so soon after five years that strained human relationships to the most nearly fatal extent that history records. And it will be all the more fruitful in helping towards a new world order because it

happened of its own accord and had no direct connection with the kind of emotional internationalism that has become so common since 1919.

Naturally we gathered, for this first Conference, at Toynbee Hall. By singularly happy fortune, we met under the presidency of Mrs. Barnett, who so wonderfully links the very latest phases of Settlement life with the first great days—for was she not last year President of the National Federation of Settlements in America, and has she not visited scores of Houses there?

Efforts had been made to ensure representation from every country in Europe where there were known to be Settlements, and we even succeeded in securing delegates from Japan, as well as from the United States and Canada. So our membership was made up of about equal numbers from Great Britain and overseas—America 29, Canada 4, Japan 4, Norway 1, Sweden 2, Finland 2, Holland 20, Austria 2, Germany 10, France 2. Had time and money allowed we should have had visitors from the Settlement at Moscow (represented by a Russian resident in England), as we should have liked others from Eastern and Southern Europe, India and China, Africa and Australasia. But this may be accomplished next time. As it was, the historic old courtyard at Toynbee presented a very animated and stirring picture on that Saturday afternoon when Lord Milner, Mrs. S. A. Barnett and Mr. J. J. Mallon bade us welcome under a picturesque array of national flags, and spoke in English to a group of people whose only actual common tongue was the language of the heart.

"We all feel," said Lord Milner, "that the members of Settlements all over the world are one body, working

for the same object, though no doubt with great differences in method, and that the success of one is an asset to all. Settlements all over the world must try to keep in touch with one another, and to learn from one another, in order that the advance of the whole army may be more or less in line.

“It would be very unwise to try to limit the freedom of the individual Settlement, to prevent its trying new methods and striking out in new directions. The movement is a young one, and it must not lose that most precious attribute of youth, the spirit of adventure—the imagination to conceive and the courage to initiate something which had not been thought of or done before. But the greater the freedom and individuality of Settlements, the greater the advantage of a Conference, such as the present one, at which the members of different Settlements in different countries can meet together to exchange experiences, to compare methods, to keep alive enthusiasm, and to promote and foster mutual knowledge and friendship.

“Considering how young the movement is, it has shown extraordinary vitality and capacity for development. And I venture to think that the future has still more in store for us. We all feel that the greatest problems confronting the advanced nations to-day are the social problems, and I believe that in the solution of these problems the Settlement Movement can exercise a very salutary influence. It is not only the benefit that a Settlement affords to the immediate neighbourhood that is of importance. More important still, in my opinion, is the fact that through the agency of the Settlements a large number of men and women are now qualifying themselves to exercise a good influence in those complicated and bitter controversies and struggles

through which the nations are trying to achieve, and I hope will achieve, a better industrial and social system. They are qualified, because they have been face to face with the facts, have lived amidst the conditions which they wish to alter, and have realised, at first hand, all the difficulties of the process."

To this Mrs. Barnett added emphasis by saying that, without making too ambitious a claim, such a Conference might mean a great deal in the cause of peace and good will amongst the people of all nations. "Hitherto the efforts for mutual understanding among nations have been made, on the whole, by the cultivated and the thinkers. But Settlement workers touch the *people*, the people who are so easily swayed, who are so ready to be taught to hate, but who do respond when they are shown how to love and admire. It is these people whom the Settlement workers can reach, as no one else can reach them, because they do not approach by the roadway of politics or any vexed opinions, but by the pathway of friendship."

This deep and universal note was characteristic of the whole Conference. It was sounded again by Canon Carnegie at the service in Westminster Abbey, attended by the Conference on the Sunday afternoon. "The master-method of the Settlement pioneers was Christ's master-method—to live the life and let it work. The movement is essentially a religious movement, a Christian movement. It is a brave attempt of the Christian spirit to throw off its pharisaic entanglements and to express itself along its characteristic lines." Motives were little discussed, but whatever the topic under consideration the spiritual unity of Settlement workers became apparent. Vague generalisations or petty details of organisation might easily have become too prominent. But without

getting away from practical human life, the needs and possibilities of the definite neighbourhood, on the one hand, the Conference kept clearly before it on the other the national and international significance of typical Settlement activities. There was no attempt to work out an abstract social ideal, comprehensive, complete, and perhaps therefore unrelated to the immediate tasks and opportunities of the ordinary Settlement, great or small. Certain definite aspects of community life were selected and dealt with strictly from the Settlement point of view, with the object of discovering how best Settlements could contribute to the quickening of the social conscience and the constructive activity of the community itself in these things. Yet constantly the Conference found itself thereby brought face to face with first principles and compelled to state both problems and possible solutions in terms of concrete human relationships. This proved true in making a survey of the existing work of Settlements in all the countries represented, in the attempt to say what is the basis and objective of all Settlement work, in trying to state what Settlements have to do with regard to education, the use of leisure, industry, housing and town-planning. "Living with folks" and all that this demands, was the real subject at every session.

This came out in the "extras" also. Professor Gilbert Murray, in speaking at a special session on International Questions, asked why Settlements were not required in the Middle Ages, and suggested that the development of the movement arose from an increasing differentiation of classes, so that it became necessary for the more fortunate to help the less. Now, he said, a similar situation had come about among the nations; there is a need that the more stable should help the

less stable ; groups of strong nations must help the weaker ones. That help is given in a variety of ways. Thus, though the American Government makes no direct contribution to the League of Nations, American civilisation is always at work, always helping. At the Assembly of the League, when things were getting into a tangle and racial discords beginning to vibrate there would come someone from Czecho-Slovakia or elsewhere, with the accent of the Middle West—a member of his own nation, but one who had been in a place where many nations meet and had had the edge of national bitterness taken off : immediately common sense descended. America was assuredly there. The leader of the Albanian delegation had been a lecturer at Harvard. From Turkey came men trained at Robert College. The whole of Eastern Europe owes a great debt to America. And this work is going forward in America itself, where there are groups of Greeks, Turks and others, in colonies or otherwise, and the Settlements are doing much to deliver them from these acute nationalistic antagonisms by creating a common centre of friendship and an opportunity of mutual understanding.

The Professor drew a parallel between the work of Settlements and that of the League in disturbed areas, taking the Albanian frontier as an illustration. Nominally people were always fighting there in the service of some intrigue, generally started by a lying rumour about some atrocity. Now there are "settlers"—resident Commissioners appointed by the League—to whom these disputes must be carried for investigation, which disperses suspicion. Indeed, the bare fact that such "settlers" are living there "like Toynbee men in Whitechapel" creates an atmosphere that prevents such intrigue and kills lying rumours. But the

Commissioners must come from nations which do not carry their lives in their hands, which are disinterested, whose administration can be examined each year by the League. "This is all based on the belief that we are our brother's keepers. But only if he wants us. And we must not give him orders. In being his keepers we must be very careful indeed that we do not become his exploiters."

On another afternoon the Conference was the guest of the World Association of Adult Education, at Bedford College. Here again the familiar chord was struck by Mr. Albert Mansbridge—the chord containing as its constituents, hope, human fellowship, high idealism, and practical purpose. "So long," he said, "as there is in any country a real movement for adult education, there is hope for the world. What do we mean by adult education? The true development of every man and woman, body, mind and spirit, to the full extent of their power. The acquisition of knowledge is not education. It may be an instrument of evil in the hand of an uneducated person. Adult education demands the fusion of body, mind and spirit into the glorious whole of a fine personality. The democratic gospel is that every man, woman and child, in their own time and place, should not merely have the opportunity of making the most of themselves, but should buy it up. It is the idealist that moves the world and makes the practical man able to do practical things. It is the movement of the spirit that matters in adult education. The World Association is just an attempt to bring related forces together and to serve the needs of those who in their own country and in their own way are endeavouring to advance this cause. It seeks the joy that comes not of the search for it, but of fellowship among those

who are doing the right thing. It is at the service of any country that wants its help. The work which the Association wants to see done can best be done through all those bodies generally known as Settlements."

The visit paid by the delegates to the Hampstead Garden Suburb, where they were welcomed by Mrs. Barnett, its foundress, and shown all the institutions which make it a community and not merely a collection of model houses, afforded them a happy demonstration of the way in which Settlement ideals most naturally culminate. It was the conditions of Whitechapel that set Mrs. Barnett thinking about how folk of all classes, occupations, opinions and tastes could fashion for themselves the antithesis of a city slum. When the majority of the members of the Conference spent a day at Oxford on the Tuesday of the following week they found in Barnett House an effective example of the way in which service in the Settlement spirit may be rendered to the whole of a rural county, the isolation and poverty of resource so often characteristic of village life, being overcome by central organisation and by the utilisation of voluntary help from the University and city of Oxford. Here again was evidence of the wider possibilities of Settlement work, issuing from the experience gained in the more restricted field of urban neighbourhoods.

The social aspects of the Conference suggested the same things. Members visited Settlements in London and in many cases stayed there as guests during the week. At the "At Home" given by the Warden and residents of Toynbee the folk-dancing and singing of students from the School of Social Service in Amsterdam recalled the movement among the *Jugendbewegung* in Germany, or that fostered by people like Mr. Cecil Sharp

and the Folk-dance Society in England, for a revival of the simple old-time expressions of joy and beauty which are the true remedy throughout the world for artificiality, excitement and meretricious amusement. There was something universal and elemental, as well as prophetic, about these things. And when the wife of a London Settlement Warden sang with the same ease and expressiveness in three other languages as in English, she symbolised in a very felicitous way the reality of our international understanding and sympathy.

CHAPTER II

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By MRS. S. A. BARNETT, C.B.E.

WHEREVER there is a Settlement, whether in Canada, Japan, America, Holland or elsewhere, there we find a common foundation and a shared ideal. As we have assembled in Toynbee Hall it may be interesting to tell you briefly how it arose.

My husband, then twenty-eight, and I, then twenty-one, came to live in the little Vicarage next door to this house in 1873. Where we now stand was then a Reformatory School for bad, *very* bad boys (which, I think, accounts for why our neighbours when it was first built would call Toynbee Hall "Tom-boy Hall"). Where to-day we are to lunch was a cluster of low hovels where degraded women plied their evil trade with no less degraded men. Where we are to-day to see an exhibition of town-planning, there used to be a network of courts and alleys. The whole place was inhabited by the criminal, the vicious, the degraded, and I remember when we built what is now Booth House to be a tenement house, each family to have one or two rooms—then a great step forward—my husband and I went for a walk on Hampstead Heath to decide who should be the tenants, and could set no higher standard than that those admitted should not *earn* their living by vice!

And because the problem of raising these degraded people evaded ordinary methods it seemed wise to copy

the plan adopted by God the Father, Who gave the best to the world, "undeserving" as it was, and therefore we set to work on two principles.

To share our best possessions, be they art, music, literature, thought, knowledge, friends, happiness, beauty, ideals, hopes.

To share, not to stand on a platform and shower down, but to stand on the floor and share, shoulder to shoulder—that was the first principle, and the second is like unto it: to create friendship.

Friendship. It is a large word, including love, camaraderie, kindness, goodwill, affection, helpfulness. It links, it binds, it enlarges, it deepens, it gladdens, it saddens, it halves sorrows and doubles joys, it shares.

So the first Settlement was founded on those two principles, and as Mr. Catchpool's book shows, every Settlement lives in one form or another to share the best and to create friendship.

The methods are various, for different localities demand different treatment, and conditions in other countries complicate the presentation of principles. Of all this we shall learn during the Conference, but in case America is not able to do itself justice I may perhaps be allowed to refer to the *Cornhill Magazine* for March, 1921, in which the editor has kindly published an article by me on the "Toynbee Halls of U.S.A.," where I have dared to try to show something of the wonderful spirit with which every one I saw of their 440 Settlements was permeated.

In England our problem has been rendered both more and less easy by the fact that now the State (through one or another of its administrative hands) does so much of the work that in the early days of Settlements was left to them. There are varied views on this matter, but I

rejoice that the State now recognises that it is its duty to deal with education, infant welfare, open spaces, sanitation, pensions, unemployment—for I agree with Canon Barnett's pregnant sentence printed on the programme: "It is wiser to throw the leaves which are for the healing of the waters into the stream from which all drink, rather than to use them in sweetening cups of water, however generously given."

But amid my rejoicing with those who are glad to see the State shoulder the needs of the people, I also recognise that the work of Settlements is therefore more wanted:

i. To point out facts, sometimes open to friends but hidden from officials.

ii. To show where the shoe pinches, either in the law or in its administration.

iii. To indicate fresh, deeper (and therefore often out of sight) needs and human requirements.

As a result of the State's doing much of what Settlements used to do, the Settlements have more time for other duties; but we have to ask, and truthfully to answer to ourselves, whether these are done—especially the duty of discerning the "signs of the times."

As you will see in the *Handbook of British Settlements*, the English Settlements are mainly called after people or places. In America they have in some cases more descriptive titles, such as "Neighbourhood House," "The Lighthouse:" but every Settlement in every country would add to its usefulness if part of its equipment was a Watch Tower from which those who will look can see the social horizon, the rising of the winds of industrial unrest, the coming of the storms of rebellion against law, the gathering of the mists that choke spiritual faith and life. The enquiry "Watchman, what of the night?" ought to be answered by Settlements,

so far as social matters are concerned. May I suggest that when no reply is forthcoming it may be because settlers have become too engrossed with daily and sometimes small duties. We may link together the words of two very different writers to convey my thought: "Doing is a deadly thing," and "There is no great movement where there is no wide vision."

And now a few words about the future of Settlements, a future, I predict, greater than the past. To accomplish this, three things must be done.

I. Settlements must federate and unite to be aggressive in their efforts to reach God (or good) and to slay the Devil (or evil). Federation must be more than tabulation and registration.

II. They must attract the best brains of the towns which they serve.

I love women far more than men. I admire them more and I like the look of them better! But in Settlement work are they not perhaps too ready to adopt only the rôle of Martha? The Wisest One of humanity praised Mary (though even He would have been very uncomfortable without Martha)—but there is work for both, and what Settlements now need is to compel the thinkers to come in, and after talks with the Marthas, go up to the Watch Tower and then shout through the megaphone or wireless instruments their federated thought.

III. The third duty of Settlements in the future is to guide public opinion, and to awaken in small and unimportant people an interest in large and important subjects.

This can be partly done by keeping up high standards in low neighbourhoods. The tendency of settlers is to give up their own standards of morals, manners, tidiness,



MRS. S. A. BARNETT, C.B.E.

President of the Conference.

and accept those among which they live. How often have we not heard it said, when people are drunken, or dishonest or have sunk below humanity's standard : " Well, I can't blame him. If I lived in such conditions I should do the same."

But two black sheep do not make one white one, and we injure our neighbour when we accept for him a low standard. " Be ye perfect " was a command given to erring men during an exceedingly difficult period of their political, religious and social world.

In conclusion, may I remind you that the driving force is with the young. It is one of the privileges of a long life that one can say : " Grow old along with me ; The best is yet to be." But the best must come through the hands of the young. For the sake of all that Settlements stand for let us woo them, let us win them, and then, strong in the faith that " Character is more important than circumstance," and that " Freedom is essential to growth," we can say with the poet, " With God be the rest."

CHAPTER III

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF SETTLEMENT WORK

PART I

IN Holland one may see paintings of picture-galleries. Each canvas contains a number of tiny reproductions, painted so as to show, not only the detail of the originals, but also the effect of perspective as the visitor would see them hanging upon the walls of the gallery. In many instances one artist has painted the gallery and perhaps one or two of the miniatures of its contents, but each of the other miniatures is the work of a different artist. This chapter and the following one must necessarily have a resemblance to such a composition. The written reports upon which they are based would themselves form a little book of several complete chapters. They are sketches upon different scales and in varying media. Due perspective is difficult to secure in the effort to present one picture of them all. But it is at least possible to reproduce the main outlines of each, as the writers have portrayed them; indeed, that is the only feasible way of affording a general view of Settlement work as it is in the world to-day.

It is fair to say that Toynbee Hall had in it from the first the seeds of all the various flowers and fruit which the subsequent growth of Settlements, at any rate in Great Britain, and perhaps in other parts of the world too, is yielding in the world to-day. At Toynbee Hall now may be found most of the types of work carried on

in other British Settlements. Practically no other in England or Scotland, however, finds it possible to maintain so many branches in equilibrium. In nearly every one there is a predominant, though not exclusive, group of activities, determined by such factors as the aim of the founder, local circumstances and problems, resources in personnel, buildings and money, and relationship to other voluntary or public organisations.

Thus it has come about that there are two British Associations—the Federation of Residential Settlements and the Educational Settlements Association. The basis of the first is that each affiliated Settlement should have as the nucleus of its working force a number of “residents” and should be engaged in definite social work. The second consists of those Settlements that make adult education, in all its varied forms, their primary purpose; at most of them no one actually resides, except perhaps the Warden, and in the group are included three residential colleges for adults—one a training centre for social and religious workers, the others being centres of ordinary study for working men and working women respectively. A few Settlements qualified to affiliate to both Associations have done so, and there is a joint advisory committee to maintain general contact and to facilitate co-operation in such matters as propaganda among university students, special work in prisons at the request of H.M. Prison Commissioners, and—preparations for an International Conference of Settlements! In all there are 66 Settlements in England and Scotland, 41 of them being in London. Of this total, 21 (including the Colleges, and mostly in the provinces) are affiliated to the Educational Settlements Association.

About a third of the Residential Settlements were founded by and remain definitely connected with universities, colleges and schools. A few were initiated by churches or religious guilds. Others were started by individuals, and some make of themselves such statements as "The Settlement was not founded, but grew naturally out of the life and efforts of two or three women who made the neighbourhood their home"; "Founded by a Committee of Citizens"; "Founded, Poperinghe 1915, Ypres 1917, England 1919." Of the Educational Settlements typical accounts run, "Founded by a group of local enthusiasts for adult education"; "Founded by interested residents in the Garden City"; "Founded by the Borough Council of Social Service" or, again, the names of individuals or of such societies as the Adult Schools appear. A few of the older Residential Settlements have a denominational basis, but even some of those which had a denominational origin are now worked interdenominationally, and by far the larger number have no stated religious sympathies though very many of their chief workers are animated by religious motives. The Educational Settlements, all of which have been founded since 1909, and the majority since 1919, regard education as a spiritual activity, seek co-operation with churches as with all social and educational agencies in the community, and usually have Adult Schools or fellowship groups and meetings for those of their members who care to participate.

Residential Settlements in Great Britain* to-day are best described in the words of the most recent publication on that subject: "A Settlement is above all a place for forming friendships so that an interchange of

* Report presented by Mr. E. St. John Catchpool.

ideas may follow. Such formal institutions as a Settlement possesses, its clubs, classes and societies, will develop naturally out of mutual knowledge and sympathy. Settlements vary in their aims and methods of work, but they have one thing in common, as their name implies: a number of men and women must have chosen to live in an industrial neighbourhood. They may live singly or in twos and threes, or they may live all together; they may live in private houses, or in tenements, or they may live in a specially built hostel. The exact manner of residence is a detail, though an important one. The essential thing is that the residents should make themselves familiar with the district and should feel at home in it. Many of them are professional men and women who go to their work in the day time and give part of their leisure time to the life of the Settlement. One man, for instance, will be a civil servant who in the evenings conducts a choral society; another will be an engineer who acts as secretary to a boys' club. Usually a Settlement has one or two salaried men or women on its staff. Among the residents are often professional social workers and students for diplomas in Social Science. At most Settlements there is also a constant stream of visitors, including many foreigners who bring and receive new ideas. Besides their residents, Settlements utilise the services of a number of visitors from other districts who make the Settlement their centre of social work. But the most delicate—and the most exacting—test of a Settlement's work is, perhaps, its ability to harness to the service of the neighbourhood those who in any case would be living and working in it. Old members of boys' and girls' clubs, teachers in the local schools, borough officials and the men and women who work in

the district, should be led to feel responsibility for its welfare. In fact, the highest aim of a Settlement should be to make itself unnecessary.”*

An interesting development that may be the harbinger of similar changes elsewhere is the giving up of its “residence” by the Oxford and Bermondsey Club, founded in 1897. Its recent policy is thus set forth: “The O.B.C. is not a Settlement as that term is often understood. It consists of a group of men who make Bermondsey their home, live according to their means in the ordinary houses of Bermondsey, and spend their leisure in the work of the clubs.”

It is difficult to summarise the work of the Residential Settlements. A constant feature is the initiation and leadership of clubs of all sorts—for men and women, boys and girls. The Liverpool University Settlement (which actually draws its residents mainly from among young Oxford and Cambridge men engaged in business in Liverpool) “cannot properly be considered apart from the David Lewis Club, which is controlled by the Warden of the Settlement, and is the principal medium for the work of the Settlement.” Haileybury House, again, which is connected with Haileybury College, and was founded in 1902, “was built as a place of residence for the Managers of the Haileybury Club, which was started in 1896, and lies behind the House. The Club for boys is of fourteen to nineteen.” Dockland Settlement, another London Centre, has twenty-five clubs running each evening, with a daily attendance of 2,500 members.

On the other hand there is much done in the direction of infant welfare, training in mothercraft, provision of

* *Handbook of Settlements in Great Britain*, pp. 3-4.

play-centres for children, savings and provident work, Poor Man's Lawyer, and so forth. As in other countries, the Settlements have been pioneers in many forms of social service which now have become part of the ordinary municipal or national organisation. Clinics of various kinds, employment bureaux, vigilance work in connection with housing and factory conditions, are examples. Settlement workers at an earlier period rendered service to the community by gaining election to Boards of Guardians and Municipal Councils. The growth of Labour representation has made this less necessary, and more effort is now directed towards the awakening and education of a civic consciousness in the community in general and the development of leadership on the part of local men and women. In practically all cases there is an unofficial relationship with trade unions of a very close and friendly kind, and on the other hand a reciprocal understanding with employers that makes it possible to bring the two groups nearer together. An illustration of the way in which a Settlement has won for itself a wide influence in all the most vital affairs of the city is afforded by Grey Lodge, Dundee. Its purpose is "to bring about a better understanding between men and women by educating them to a sense of their communal responsibility as citizens of the future." Among other notable events in its history were a Report on Housing and Social Conditions which evoked violent opposition from many former supporters of the Settlement, but led to a far-reaching improvement in the conditions, and the establishment of an Invalid Children's School, which is now under the Local Education Authority. "Grey Lodge Settlement is incorporated with the Dundee Social Union. During its thirty-five years of existence it has pioneered most of the social

activities of the town. The latest development of the Settlement is the School of Social Study and Training, now under the control of the University of St. Andrews."

Research has been a feature of the work in one or two well-known Settlements and is, if anything, taking a larger place in typical Settlement activity. Often it has been due to the special interests and experience of a warden or other worker, but frequently now it is taken up by a group of local men and women working with, or under the direction of, one or two residents. Toynbee Hall has been the centre of enquiries into housing conditions and the causes of unemployment; from Mansfield House have come books dealing with Poverty and with Casual Labour at the Docks. Bristol University Settlement has made studies of Leisure Hour Pursuits in its neighbourhood, Educational Handicrafts of Working Girls and Boys, and Plans of New City Houses, while the Bermondsey Settlement and the Alice Barlow House have taken part (like many others) in various investigations of social questions. Cambridge House has embarked upon a new and valuable enterprise in the publication of bulletins giving facts and figures, as far as possible adequate and impartial, relating to pressing questions of industry, education and so forth, which are under discussion in the Press or between political parties, but about which it is difficult for ordinary people to get the solid information upon which opinion may be based.

Education has always been a part of the normal Settlement programme and some residential Settlements have continuously given it a large place among their activities. Toynbee Hall, for example, has some 600 regular students attending classes and lectures, and has an arrangement of close co-operation with the Local

Education Authority. Many Settlements have Tutorial Classes in connection with the Workers' Educational Association, University Extension Courses, Choral and Dramatic Societies, Libraries and, in a few cases, book-shops. Perhaps the majority have developed direct social activity at the expense of the ordinary forms of education. But the general aim is educational and its realisation is sought through increasing the responsibility of club members for the management of the clubs, associating those for whose benefit chiefly the Settlement is established with the conduct of its affairs, and so forth. Then again, the educational work of the Settlements is not confined to their own immediate vicinity. Efforts are made to carry into the universities, city suburbs and other more favourably situated places some knowledge of conditions, problems and aspirations realised in the more densely populated areas. Recently Vacation Schools of Social Study have been held at various Settlements ; groups of undergraduates are invited to spend a week in seeing Settlement work, listening to lectures by experienced social workers, visiting factories, docks, congested areas and public institutions in the neighbourhood, and above all meeting and talking with representative working people of the district.

The work of the group specifically known as Educational Settlements is best described in the course of Chapter V ("Settlements and Education"). It may here be remarked, however, that the difference of emphasis between the two groups amounts in practice to a form of specialisation, each supplementing the other. The ultimate aim in both is the fostering of a richer life through fellowship, and the improvement of conditions as the result of a finer and more illumined social consciousness.

The financing and the staffing of Settlements are a perennial problem. There is much to be done yet in ascertaining the essential function of the Settlement in the life of the community. At present experiments in the application of the Settlement idea to other than industrial areas are only beginning to be made. Even if complete records of the extent and variety of the work of Settlements in Great Britain could be obtained, grave gaps in its impact on the social life of the country would be all too evident, mistakes and weaknesses of method would be very obvious. But for the progressive Settlement the field is always new and the reward of labour is more labour. The influence of the whole movement on the nation at large can best be estimated, not by the achievements with which it can be credited in some sixty centres during the past year or during its whole history, but by considering the number of men and women conspicuous in social, political, industrial and educational, as well as religious, life to-day who owe their early inspiration to the few years or even months when they were Settlement residents.

* * *

Turning to the United States we are confronted with an array of "houses," a range of activities, and a group of personalities quite overwhelming in comparison with those in any other country. This means that America, when once Dr. Stanton Coit had carried across the Atlantic the vision of Canon Barnett, and Miss Jane Addams had given it further expression at Hull House, proceeded to take up the challenge on a scale commensurate with her huge population and in terms suited to her cosmopolitan life. The bulky volume published by Mr. Robert Woods and Mr. Albert Kennedy since

the Conference* is a great contrast to the modest little British Handbook rushed out in time for that event, and even to Dr. Werner Picht's book on *Toynbee Hall and the English Settlement Movement*.

"The first house was established in 1886 in New York by Stanton Coit. It was not until 1889 that he was reinforced; and the year 1890 marks the line of actual beginning. Three decades later there were located in twenty-six states more than 500 houses, which sufficiently bear the original impress to be counted true to type. Though the bulk of Settlements are situated in working class portions of half a dozen metropolitan communities, examples are found in cities of all sizes, and in towns, villages and hamlets. Until 1915 growth in numbers was highly regular. In 1891 there were 6 houses; 74 in 1897; 103 in 1900; 204 in 1905; 413 in 1911; about 550 in 1915. Until the beginning of the War, American Settlements came close to doubling their numbers every five years."†

It is noticeable that at least half of the strongest Settlements were founded by individual pioneers. "Houses organised by Women's Clubs, by College and School alumnæ associations, and by Churches and religious organisations of lay people make up the majority of the Settlements. In this group the Head Worker has not as a rule been the initiating force. Settlements organised by groups affiliated with institutions of learning have shown greater vitality and freedom than those which have been established and maintained by religious bodies. It is very difficult in the United States for a Settlement of first rank to develop under

* *The Settlement Horizon*: New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1922, \$3.00 net.

† Report presented by Mr. Albert Kennedy.

denominational control and leadership." The figures show a tendency, as in England, for important Settlements which started under sectarian auspices to put themselves upon uncontroversial ground by severing all denominational affiliations. At the same time many continue to carry on some form of religious instruction and the churches directly control a considerable number. An analysis of residents numbering 1,411, in 260 Settlements, showed a percentage of thirty men to seventy women; among the larger Settlements by far the greater number had both men and women residents, while among those of medium size the number staffed wholly by women was almost equal to that of the "mixed" type.

Most of the American Settlements are still at the first stage of development, establishing working relations with the groups about them—a process requiring from five to ten years. Many have advanced to the stage of "institutional upbuilding." A few of those more than fifteen years old have so established themselves in the life of their neighbourhoods, acquired the necessary equipment, and made sure of skilled service that they can "seek to arouse the initiative of the citizens and bring them to the point of sharing responsibility for the management and support of the Settlement. Much of the pioneering of to-day," says the report, "is in this field."*

In America there is a very special problem. "Settlement work in the United States has been and still is dominated by the need of helping foreigners to adjust themselves to a new situation. A recent study of 307 houses shows 283 situated in areas of population that

* Mr. Albert Kennedy.

are chiefly first generation immigrant. Fifty-eight were among Jews chiefly, thirty-five among Italians, a growing number among Poles, Lithuanians, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians. A large group are in Negro neighbourhoods. More than half are in cosmopolitan communities including anything from two or three to thirty or forty races and nationalities. Settlement work has necessarily dealt with the human fundamentals, and an important reason for the essential unity of the movement in the United States is due to this cause. The experience that Settlements have had in promoting relations between people of different faiths and national traditions living in a neighbourhood has made clear to them both the high value of nationality and the possibility of constructive internationalism under conditions of honour. On the other hand there is nothing more hopelessly difficult to deal with than a cosmopolitan neighbourhood which includes a small representation of each of thirty or forty nationalities. American residents look to England and France for the results of the Settlement method applied within a homogeneous population. We do not know what might have been brought to pass had we been able to work among our own nationals.”*

None the less “Settlements have been carrying on experiments which reach directly into the upper grades of the working class and even into the middle classes. These activities, however, are the first to be absorbed into public and private institutions where they lose their distinctive quality. Settlement workers constantly find themselves repudiated by persons employed in forms of activity worked out and established in the Settlement.”†

* Mr. Albert Kennedy.

† *ibid.*

The type of programme varies according as the responsible group of residents make it their aim to change society through the influence of religion, education, or charity upon the individual and especially the child, or seek rather to discover and encourage groups capable of self-management. Again, some Settlements concern themselves with individuals and families, but not with public life ; others carry on experiments and instigate civic enterprise in the local community pending progress in the community at large ; still others seek " to meet all the needs and develop all the powers of the particular neighbourhoods in which they are placed, the activities of the several houses being shaped by local conditions and the immediate goal of their labours being neighbourhood welfare," not forgetting that " any successful accomplishment becomes immediate material for adoption in other localities with similar conditions."*

Mr. Kennedy polarises the whole movement in the United States for us in a couple of sentences : " The only inclusive quality, the sole thing for which universally we thank God, is that we are all different. The most generally accepted principle of Settlement work is that neighbourliness, as an emotional experience, is both means and end."†

In the light of this the value of clubs is obvious, based as they can be upon the national groupings of girls and boys. It is interesting to observe that in the case of adults, while women's clubs are among the most successful of Settlement activities, the men gather more readily to the social and political or industrial societies that

* Mr. Albert Kennedy.

† *ibid.*

touch their economic life more directly. "The purpose of the clubs, especially those for children and young people, is training in associated action in preparation for increased popular participation in government, industry and social life; the small national group furnishes training in elementary associations, while discipline under the federal or representative principle is furnished by means of athletic associations, club councils, house councils and the like."* After thirty years this remains a highly specialised work of Settlements and even where public authorities, schools, and so on have followed similar lines they lack the continuity from year to year which is so vital.

"The democratisation of culture is an important Settlement watchword." Definite instruction is the chief task of some centres, which tend to provide mainly for mothers and children. The classes for the latter are chiefly in arts, crafts and domestic subjects, as the schools have now taken over to a great extent training in vocational subjects. The general development of educational effort is principally in the direction of "establishing in every neighbourhood organs through which the chief cultural interests of people may find expression." Music schools (described more fully in our Chapter VI—"Settlements and the Use of Leisure") "represent Settlement high water mark in formal education," while little theatres, local art museums and art schools are making much progress. There is a great deal of lecture and class work done: "Most Settlements stand ready to secure leadership for any possible stirring of local interest in any branch of knowledge. The Settlement takes advantage of every stirring of the will

* Mr. Albert Kennedy.

to study or act together. This is one of the reasons why it regards the club as so pre-eminently an instrument of education. Indeed, some of the best educational work is carried on as a by-product of club meetings."*

It is a firm principle that Settlement activities shall not rival those of other organisations in the neighbourhood, especially organisations publicly supported and controlled. "Most Settlements supplement the work of the local institutions directly by supporting and participating in their services, interpreting them to people, calling upon their representatives at public events. It is, of course, in the very nature of things that contact with the schools should be close. Certain houses offer the use of their rooms to the public school. In other instances Settlements use school-rooms for enterprises of recreation, and even carry on School Centres. Similar co-operation with libraries and churches are common. A large number of Settlements have turned kindergartens, branch libraries and classes in handwork over to public authorities. Most Settlements act as centres of direction and mediation between the people and various city-wide services, public and private, of education, charity and civic advance."† Such activities as school-visiting or milk and baby-hygiene work are still carried on by Settlements where necessary, but are more and more being taken over as part of the regular municipal organisation. A characteristic form of co-operation is with such agencies as scouts and woodcraft, and an important function is that of bringing experts and keen professional people into contact with fresh problems for which they can devise solutions.

* Mr. Albert Kennedy.

† *ibid.*

"Where the existing institutional services are inadequate to meet local needs the Settlement undertakes to supply the deficiency."* Health work and summer activities afford illustrations.

Experiments are being made in periodic physical examination of children, psychological clinics to deal with bad habits, and neighbourhood dispensaries, the aim being to lay the foundation of a real and not a pseudo, health centre. The American Settlements, which used to practically to suspend activities in the summer, have now discovered that this is the best of all times for working people. "To-day practically all Settlements hold their staff together during July and August. If it became necessary to limit Settlement work to six months in the year, the majority of houses would vote for carrying on from June to October. Vacation schools, playgrounds, roof and window-box gardening, athletic leagues, day excursions and much sociability on door-steps and in streets, constitute the usual in-town programme. The triumph of Settlement action, however, is found in the holiday camps."† These are essentially co-operative efforts on the part of the people themselves, who meet the cost and often share the work. An increasing number of Settlements own their tracts of land, on which the people from their neighbourhoods (often through neighbourhood committees) establish, equip, and run a permanent camp, thus learning in the countryside many of the most valuable cultural lessons and going back to influence their neighbourhoods accordingly.

Reinforcement of family life, as a result of the opening provided by educational, social, and co-operative

* Mr. Albert Kennedy.

† *ibid.*

activities, is one of the most important types of work done by American Settlements. Relief and case work is for the most part handed over to the specially constituted agencies. "The distinctive field of Settlement case work is with families above the poverty line, in efforts to interpret to them the American standard of living, and to help individuals and groups to realise a higher standard of family regimen through participation in educational and co-operative activities. Every factor in the Settlement Club and class programme is definitely used to help people to secure better jobs, to grade up home-making, to bring out latent capacities, to establish acquaintance with other neighbours, and hence to achieve a happier and more fruitful life. This form of case work antedated medical social service, is at the basis of school visiting, and is being used increasingly by agencies of education. It is one of the best forms of adult education possible because it takes an individual or family where it is, applies educational principles in terms understood by the family, and calls upon resources which those helped learn to use for themselves while they are reinforced by the aspirations, strivings, powers and successes of other persons about them of like ability."*

Certain Settlements definitely initiate experiments in organising social activities, but all are inevitably making a contribution out of their experience to the data of a true social service. About thirty are engaged in special research, which has its fruit in books, pamphlets and new enterprises. All are helping to interpret the state of industrial civilisation and to stimulate public opinion regarding it. "The present group of Social Service Commissioners among Protestant denominations

* Mr. Albert Kennedy.

have been touched by forces which come out of Settlements.”*

The two distinguishable types of Settlement in the United States are those which emphasise institutional features of neighbourhood life and those which reach out to the wider community. “In reaching state and national associations the Settlements have passed through a stage of individualism into one of co-operation. The earlier pioneers surveyed, experimented, suggested—Mrs. Kelley on factory inspection, Miss McDowell on women and children in industry, Miss Wald on local health and education, getting central authorities to take action.” The growth of city federations of Settlements has greatly increased their power of effective local appeal and action. In politics Settlements educate and inspire, abstaining from direct action. “It is a matter of principle with residents not to run for local offices, because such action is usually interpreted by neighbours as closing the door of opportunity to local young men,” but they are frequently called upon to serve on more central public bodies, or to give special advice. In the case of a few who are specially experienced their opinion on questions relating to social welfare has great weight with national officials. “The influence of Settlement residents on government is not rooted in their relation to a local constituency, but in their understanding of the meaning and significance of social conditions and causes. They advise, not as a politician does, but as having trained minds in actual contact with real situations and people.”†

So again in the sphere of education. Many serve on school authorities, but experimental work has been

* Mr. Albert Kennedy.

† *ibid.*

even more important. The first school visitors, the first school nursing service, the important studies of tenancy, reinforcement of the industrial education movement, the beginnings of the vocational placement movement, are all to be credited to Settlements. Many residents are teachers, and educationists like Prof. Dewey have found the clue to their themes in Settlement experience.

Settlements have played an important part in the development of public health, largely through the work of influential personalities like that of Dr. Alice Hamilton in bacteriology, and Miss Wald in public nursing, while city federations have effected studies in midwifery leading to important legislation and training facilities.

"The relations between Settlements and Trade Unions are real and friendly, though in some respects less active than in the past. When the Settlements began in the 'nineties much of the time and energy of residents was spent in interpreting Unions to board members and the public, assisting locals in securing legislation, lending aid in strikes and forming new Unions. A few residents, the most notable of whom is Raymond Robbins, became officials in Trade Unions. As the American Federation of Labour became stronger this kind of assistance was less needed. Residents therefore interested themselves in helping Trade Unions for women, and were largely responsible for the organisation of the National Women's Trade Union League, which has now developed such good leadership from the ranks that Settlement workers are more and more auxiliaries."*

In each large city there are one or two residents who maintain working relations with the leaders of Unions and frequently are asked to act as mediators. This has

* Mr. Albert Kennedy.

become even more valuable to Settlements than to Unions as it gives residents the angle of incidence that determines the Labour point of view. Dr. Elliott and the printers may be quoted as an outstanding example, and his work in connection with the building up of a training school for apprentices is described in our chapter on Education.

During the last ten years the influence of Settlements on Social Service agencies has reached its highest point. "In the decade since 1910 residents have furnished five presidents of the National Conference on Social Work. In variety and range of social expedients taken up into law and practice Settlements have outdistanced by many times any other type of social work. All forms of civic enterprise have been measurably affected by Settlement emphasis on the family in its totality, including the man as the unit of case work, and the neighbourhood as the unit of community work. To-day education, religion and recreation are working in actual terms of these units, and Settlement workers, through Social Service Commissions, University professorships and lectureships, and similar avenues, are permeating the thought of the effective institutions."*

All this seems to point to three or four clear lines of future development.

Settlements must continue to be experimental centres; every one of the definite services they render can be taken over by existing institutions or by others created for the purpose, while the Settlements address themselves to fresh problems. "The best Settlements substantially change their scheme every decade. . . .

"The eternal element in the Settlement, we feel, is the actual presence, in all kinds of communities, of men

* Mr. Albert Kennedy.

and women in friendly, understanding touch with people—sufficiently engaged with them to know their minds, understand their point of view, actually get the feel of their life. Settlement workers know that under American conditions this cannot be done otherwise than by residence in the actual territory under survey.”*

Such men and women must have the gifts, the education and the special training that fit them for devising social solutions, or the Settlement becomes merely another among active institutions, useful and kindly, but not highly significant.

Federated action among Settlements in city, state and nation is necessary to progress, and pioneering work must be followed up by carefully worked out technique.

“Settlements must establish their principle of permeating and exhausting a local situation, as against the methods of the centrally organised programme type of work. The Settlements are to-day the one social agency in the United States given to allowing the people some liberty of choice ; permitting, welcoming, actually seeking the full exercise of the temperamental instincts and desires of people ; studying in season and out of season ways of carrying into higher achieved standards a considerable population group, and creating a situation in which new interests may find it possible to live. Though much has been accomplished, much remains.”†

* * *

The Settlement movement in Canada‡ began in Toronto in 1901, the pioneers being a group of Evangelical

* Mr. Albert Kennedy.

† *ibid.*

‡ Report presented by Miss Florence Campbell.

Episcopalians. Of the thirteen Settlements now at work seven are definitely denominational enterprises, four being Presbyterian, two Methodist, and one Baptist. In addition, two are non-denominational and two non-sectarian. There is a University Settlement in Toronto and another in Montreal. The relationship between the churches and the Settlements connected with them varies. In some instances the major part of the support is derived from the church, religious services are included in the programme, and the Settlement is practically an expansion of the Institutional Church idea. In other cases the connection is chiefly through the supply by the church of the majority of the Settlement workers, of whom a nucleus have taken up residence in or near the Settlement. The University Settlements have direct representation of the governing and graduate bodies on their boards of management, and make it their aim to interest university students in social work. Thus the Toronto University Settlement reports in 1922 a staff of five workers (four women and one man), with three additional women residents; a roll of 175 volunteer workers, of whom the greater number are university students from various faculties; and four students of the Social Science Department of the University doing "field work" at the Settlement for part or the whole of the year.

The nature and scope of Canadian Settlement activities can be summarised under the categories of club-work (social, educational and recreational), neighbourhood work, the training of students for social service, summer camps, and special work for immigrants in the teaching of English. As in the United States, the mingling of many nationalities in the great cities presents an urgent .

problem, though perhaps on a smaller scale. Since 1900 Canada has received more than 3,700,000 immigrants. (One-eighth of the entire population of Canada is non-Anglo-Saxon in origin!) These immigrants were of sixty-one nationalities, used between them eighty-five languages, and professed many different religious creeds. An illustration of the situation which the Settlements are facing is afforded by the fact that in a recent municipal election announcements and instructions had to be issued to electors in thirty languages. While the work of Settlements of course does not comprise, or perhaps even typify, all the efforts being made by the community for the benefit of this stream of new-comers from foreign lands, Settlements play a very honourable and effective part in this vital service, and their task is very much determined and conditioned by this special need. Therein they co-operate with Community Churches, with the hostels for immigrant women which the Government is establishing from coast to coast, and with the united effort of the Presbyterian and Methodist denominations to start people's missions and community centres amongst non-Anglo-Saxon people. And in this, one of the biggest social tasks with which Canada is confronted, they have proved not only loyal co-operators, but in many respects courageous pioneers.

The Settlements started kindergartens, libraries and recreation schools which have now been taken over by public authorities, and for some time have conducted summer camps as a result of which a considerable Camp Movement has developed. Their general policy is that of co-operation with other agencies, public or voluntary, wherever possible. This has been fostered by the Neighbourhood Workers' Associations. It has taken



MISS JANE ADDAMS.

Chairman of the Continuation Committee.

effect in connection with prohibition campaigns, health work and social hygiene, child welfare, immigration, housing, recreation, the treatment of juvenile delinquency, and the work of the Social Service Exchange. Similar relationships have been established with the Churches, the Schools, the Scouts and Guides' Movements. An interesting example of co-operative effort is that of the *Star* newspaper fund for summer camps and Christmas work carried on by the Settlements and similar agencies.

The industrial problem in Canada is not so extensive or so acute as in the United States or in European countries. Consequently there has not been as much opportunity for Settlement service in this field. The energies of the Settlements have been directed rather, as indicated above, to the solution of the difficulties created by the great tide of immigration. While, therefore, the general programme of Settlement work is as varied as in most other countries, and the principle of fellowship underlying it is identical, Canadian workers feel that in this special task they are confronted by perhaps the greatest challenge and claims that their country has to offer them at the present time. They are seeking to remedy the condition described by Mrs. Barnett when she said, "You have invited your guests, but have not made the guest chamber ready."

* * *

East and West are no longer regarded as two worlds with so little in common that no real mutual understanding is possible and principles or methods of life and work which have proved their value in the one are

ipso facto inapplicable to the other. Asia had her social problem ages before Europe and America possessed civilisation, and will naturally continue to have distinctive needs and specially characteristic ways of meeting them to the end of the chapter. But we are all realising now that the fundamental human problem is much the same, however conditions may vary. This has become the more clear as the industrialisation of the East has advanced. We should like to have had representatives of India and China at the Conference, but we were unable to secure them. Japan would not wish to speak for the whole of Asia, but the contribution from her experience has particular significance.

There are now four Settlements in Japan, situated in Tokio, Yokohama, Osaka and Kobe respectively. Though comparatively recent in origin, as well as at present few in number, they present the sharply contrasted types of progressive community action on the one hand and the creative power of an inspiring personality on the other.

That in Osaka was opened in May, 1921, in the northern, which is the poorest, quarter of the city. "It was established and is controlled by the municipality, which gave £35,000 for the building and £4,000 for working expenses during the first year. Nearly a score of municipal officials and fifty volunteer helpers work there. It has a sitting-room, gymnasium, concert room and library, with a restaurant and a barber's shop which are cheaper than elsewhere! Doctors, lawyers and clergymen come two or three times a week and help the people, free of charge, on their own lines. Cinema shows, concerts and lectures are sometimes given free by the municipality, and sometimes by other bodies for payment. There is an exposition room, where

things are shown in order to teach the people how to improve their lives, and there are small rooms for lectures and meetings. Lectures are given in Japanese literature, history, economics, sociology, English, vocational knowledge, domestic science, sewing and the arrangement of flowers. Many clubs and societies have their offices in the house—e.g., the blind men's club, the motor-car drivers' association, boys' clubs, etc. During the last year the total attendance numbered 18,000 persons."*

The Yokohama Settlement has a large building and follows similar lines of work.

A great contrast is presented by the Settlement at Kobe. This has neither a great building nor official support. "A Japanese Christian minister began to live in one of the most miserable slums in Kobe, fifteen years ago. His name is Mr. Kagawa. He helped the people in every possible way, and also studied their psychology so carefully that he wrote a valuable book about it. He also has a dispensary. He now carries on the work of the Settlement with a number of helpers, including students from the colleges in the city. He is at once an economist, a theologian, a poet, and one of the chief leaders of the Labour movement. He is really one of the most remarkable men of the day in Japan. Everyone regards him with such great interest that the demand for copies of his autobiography has already necessitated the issue of more than two hundred editions. The English translation is already published, and German and other translations will appear later. His work is wonderful, though the scale is small."†

* Report presented by Mr. N. Yamamasu.

† *ibid.*

There is ample ground for anticipation that the movement will grow rapidly in extent and strength in Japan. It has already proved its power to influence existing organisations and to imbue them with something of the Settlement spirit. The Society for the Reconciliation of Labour and Capital found the Settlement in Osaka very useful in connection with its special task and is understood to be contemplating the establishment of a Settlement on its own account. The municipal officials in Osaka, too, are planning a school in the poorest quarter of the city, to be carried on by teachers and doctors who have the Settlement point of view and would consider the needs of the parents as well as of the children. In this way the school would be the centre of community life in the neighbourhood, concerning itself not only with education, but with recreation, community welfare, and the mutual understanding of rich and poor. It is reported that a big Settlement under official control will be opened in Tokio in the near future. A fact of special interest is that the Japanese Government is encouraging the people to start Settlements in large cities, promising financial aid.

Exactly what lines the movement as a whole will follow can scarcely as yet be foreseen. Perhaps, as Mr. Yamamasu suggested in presenting his report, these centres may not be regarded by some workers in other countries as Settlements in the full sense of the word, "but we call them so." Clearly Japan has seen the value of Settlement work, and of the community centres closely related to Settlements in spirit and activities. Doubtless there will be a demand in Japan for both residential and non-residential Settlements very like those of the West. But it is equally beyond question

that Japan, and the other countries of Asia, will develop fresh methods and thereby not only suit their own peculiar circumstances but suggest valuable developments in other lands. The supreme fact is that the idea of social progress by mutual knowledge and service, friendship as a great factor in discovering and meeting community needs, has rooted itself in the life of the East as well as in that of the West.

CHAPTER IV

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF SETTLEMENT WORK

PART II

SETTLEMENT work on the Continent of Europe has been influenced from two sides—England and America. Its ultimate source, however, is in most cases native to the various countries. This is so in France, where the movement sprang gradually, some twenty years ago, from the idealistic socialism that created "*Universités Populaires*," a kind of university extension lectures, managed by the people themselves. "The call was no longer for charity, but for education, knowledge, and a better readjustment of social privileges. Practically, however, there has been little need for Settlements until the conditions of modern labour began to disintegrate and to destroy the family group, the very stronghold and basis of French national life. French Settlements all united in the same fundamental principle—reconstruction of home-life, strengthening of family ties."* How much the movement owes to striking personalities appears at once from a brief consideration of the origins of well-known Settlements.

The Federation of French Settlements recently formed includes only those in no way connected with any religious propaganda or any special church, their sole object being social service in its widest acceptation.

* Report presented by Mlle. R. de Montmort.

"Had we included all other forms and modalities of the Settlement idea in our country, the result would have been a remarkably large Federation of important social value ; and it is not impossible that we may eventually consider such an extension both as necessary and as mutually profitable."*

Of the federated Settlements the oldest in date is doubtless "*l'Union des Familles*," founded in Paris after the Franco-German War of 1870 by a very remarkable woman of active Christian faith, Mme. de Pressensé. It is now one of the most complete types of social work in France, and it has recently extended its work to the "zone," a unique slum on the outskirts of Paris, where, in hundreds of tiny huts and shanties, lives a curious mixed population of rag-pickers and outcasts.

"*L'Oeuvre du Moulin Vert*" was established in Paris by the Abbé Viollet in 1902, on the basis of absolute separation between social and religious purposes, between sacred and secular. The Abbé has won the complete confidence and respect of men of all conditions and opinions by reason of his sincerity, disinterestedness and experience. The Settlement is democratic, being governed by its members (who are recruited as families rather than as individuals), and great stress is laid upon the necessity of maintaining harmonious family conditions.

Mme. le Fer de la Motte started in 1903 several large borough Settlements in Paris. "She was one of the first to insist upon the importance of residential Settlements, with widely open-doors. She trained to this effort a splendid staff of social workers, technically and spiritually prepared to carry out their mandate of

* Mlle. R. de Montmort.

friendship among rich and poor alike."* Thus at "*La Résidence Sociale de Montmartre*" (1910) "those who give and those who receive learn to know and to love one another," and at "*Vanves*" is another residential centre "giving a home to all who want help, advice, or support, without exception of persons."

"*La Résidence Sociale de Levallois*" is perhaps the most important of this group, and at its head is Mlle. Bassot. "When I first knew her in 1915, her dispensary was a cupboard in the dining-room, and that small dining-room was used successively as a girls' study circle, a boys' club, a gymnasium, a work-room for war-widows, a store-room for all manner of goods, a dancing hall, a concert hall, theatre, employment bureau, general office, and, not infrequently, a bedroom. But Mlle. Bassot had known even less luxurious days, in still smaller lodgings, when, in order to spread her folding bed at night, she had to hang her two chairs on to the ceiling! Such were the beginnings of one of the most prosperous Parisian Settlements, which can now boast of a series of large modern buildings, a fine park with avenues, lawns and flowers, an extensive playground for football matches—in short, all the activities gathered together in the little dining-room of yore have now their recognised place on a magnificent scale."† Mlle. Bassot found much inspiration for the later development of her work in a visit to American Settlements, and indeed the influence of the American movement has been deeply felt and cordially welcomed by the French. "*Levallois* is an intensely active industrial suburb, as ugly and as sordid as factory life can make it. Its inhabitants are

* Mlle. R. de Montmort.

† *ibid.*

keen and intelligent, readily suspicious, and often rebellious. But they have been won over by the simple methods of right friendship. When you get near to the heart of the working-people in France, you can do with them what you will."*

Mme. Bruno-Braun, one of the Abbé Viollet's helpers, founded in 1912 the Settlement at Chantilly, "a picturesque suburb, more like a forgotten village" on the other side of Paris—her object being "to aid the efforts of the poor, to raise their moral horizon, to help them to understand and appreciate the simple joys of home life." The Settlement is governed by the social workers themselves, but the individual sections are managed by the members.

The activities of these Settlements follow familiar lines. Medical dispensaries and the work of district nurses are prominent in the programme of "*L'Union des Familles*," "*La Résidence Sociale de Montmartre*," and Gentilly. There is gymnastic work in them all and several provide playgrounds, while music and drama are favourite items. "*Vannes*" concentrates on children and young people "for whom it organises all the usual programmes of study, sport and recreation. 'The *Moulin-Vert*' organises evening entertainments, holiday camps and outings, libraries, housing, social study groups, choirs, sports and so forth, always with the same end in view—attracting the family party as a whole. At '*La Résidence Sociale de Levallois*' courses are given in manual trades, mechanics, languages, stenography, home decoration, music and elocution. All manner of study circles, entertainments and outings are amply provided."†

* Mlle. R. de Montmort.

† *ibid.*

Quite a different group of Settlements are those organised during or since the war, and completely equipped from the start, instead of growing gradually to meet the needs of the population. Thus "*La Maison pour Tous*" was started in 1919 by a group of young people of all creeds and professions, keen on intelligent social reforms, and eager "to make possible a humanity based on greater justice and true fraternity, to awaken energies sleeping in the conscience of all men." They seek to make their work self-supporting by running a co-operative society, restaurant, bar and cinema, and they work a great deal for children, especially through scouting and camping. "But its highest value lies, perhaps, in the fact that it has become a meeting-place for many students of the Latin Quarter, who are gradually entering into direct contact with those whom in later life they will be called upon in different ways to serve."*

"*Pour l'Enfance and la Famille par l'Aide Sociale*" is the outcome of an effort by the American Red Cross to demonstrate typical Settlement work based upon the preservation of childhood through every kind of welfare work, from pre-natal consultation to kindergarten, play-centres and special entertainments. Infant mortality has been reduced in this thickly populated part of Paris from forty to four per cent. "Created for the child, the Social Centre follows it from before its birth to its home, its school, its surroundings, bent upon its physical and moral welfare. The family is reached through the child, and for *his* sake no effort is spared to help all who belong to him."†

* Mlle. R. de Montmort.

† *ibid.*

"*L'Union Franco-Américaine*" springs from Y.M.C.A. work in France and consists in the adaptation of war huts to civil conditions of life, making them, especially at Romilly, Lyon, Pourrain, large social centres with a definite purpose—the physical, intellectual, moral and social education of the working classes. Similarly the Red Cross Societies, and especially "*L'Union des Femmes de France*," are readapting their war activities to present social needs and Settlements are developing in several places, chiefly concerned, however, with the health of the young.

The newly-developed Settlement work in the devastated areas of France has a unique and poignant character. It has also special significance as showing the essentially creative quality of the Settlement idea and the adaptability of the method. The economic importance of the regions affected was very considerable. But in addition, "These prosperous ancient provinces, with their local customs, their noble archives, their palaces, their castles and their churches, their time-honoured traditions, were perhaps the most French of France, those where intellectual culture was an old inheritance, and where the naturally studious society was proud of its titles and libraries. The peasants, brought up through centuries in the harmony of the lovely country and the time-honoured customs, had an hereditary taste, and knew how to express it in the particulars of their country life, their plain furniture, their dishes and plates decorated with bright coloured red flowers."* After the Armistice the peasants came back to find an uninhabitable chaos. But they found also, waiting to receive, help and encourage them, the women of the

* Report presented by Mlle. Bassot.

War Relief Associations, camping in caravans and in tents turned into hostels and small shops. By the end of 1918 "*Postes de Secours*" were established in all the devastated departments.

"Each station had a matron and several nurses, who lived in these lonely ruins like those they had come to help, sharing the same material difficulties because everything was lacking—no transport, no roofs, no water; the pipes had been destroyed, the wells poisoned. They nursed the sick and dressed the wounded, who were many because of the frequent explosions. They distributed relief and the most necessary furniture. To the men they gave the first agricultural tools, . . . and seeds, fruit-trees, fowls—even cattle."*

The task was still more far-reaching: "for this population, that had only the life of cave-men as prospect, the first stage of social life had to be recreated."† Old military huts were utilised, playgrounds prepared for the children, small classes arranged for boys and girls (schools having been suppressed by order), and for men and women too.

"In the more important boroughs the Settlement forms a group of social relief associations, and sends out help to all the surrounding villages. It generally includes a 'home' (*foyer*) with a large meeting-room and a library, a theatre, a cinema, a gymnasium, a playground, a canteen, a hostelry, schools for small children, grammar schools, housekeeping classes, a sewing-room with a machine, a dispensary for babies, school-children and adults, baths, and sometimes a dental surgery, a small hospital, and an ambulance for transport of the sick and

* Mlle. Bassot.

† *ibid.*

wounded. A matron and social workers superintend the various services. The matron visits the small rural Settlements in her district, which she supplies and for which she is responsible ; here each Settlement had to be established in one small hut which, though very modest, was none the less complete. Certain Settlements have been able to organise workshops for reconstruction and for the re-establishment of pre-war trades. The Settlements greatly encourage small local societies (municipal bands, scouts, demobilised soldiers' societies). Thus develops the habit of meeting for recreation and for collective work, preparing the country people for association for the common good. In these Settlements the first agricultural syndicates were founded, as well as the first co-operative society for reconstruction. The French and American lady delegates have been able, by gaining the confidence of the people and respecting local custom and tradition, to propagate sound ideas of hygiene, temperance and joint responsibility."*

There are three American and five French organisations, having between them some seventy-six Settlements, of which twenty-nine are classified as "small." "*Le Comité Américain pour les Régions Dévastées*" (five large and fourteen small), devoted special attention to hygiene, education and recreation for children ; it is now seeking to put its work into French hands. "*Le Methodist Memorial*" Settlements, for Chateau-Thierry and the surrounding villages, had at first a relief programme which has now become entirely a social one. "*La Société des Foyers de l'Union Franco-Américaine*," with two Settlements, is an adaptation to civil circumstances of war-service among soldiers. The French group

* Mlle. Bassot.

comprises "*L'Armoire Lorraine*," a single centre; "*Le Foyer des Campagnes*" (six), which, established to prevent the exodus of peasants to the big towns, has carried on a very successful recreational programme, including music, drama and lectures; "*Le Foyer Civique*" (four) which, intended primarily to promote hygiene and public health, has developed complete Settlements, with orchestras, gymnasiums and playing-fields, and is now endeavouring to get the municipalities to establish and support such Settlements; "*Le Secours d'Urgence*" (nine large, fifteen small), founded in 1917 for relief work and social hygiene, and now progressing from adaptation of huts to the erection of permanent Settlements; "*Le Secretariat Francais des Villages Libérés*" (ten), which, in addition to work for families and boroughs, has special centres for babies and school-children and has secured the formation of ninety committees to supply the needs of these Settlements; and "*Le Village Reconstitué*" (three), working chiefly for hygiene and child-welfare.

The problems presented by these devastated area activities are two: (1) Can these Settlements become self-governing, and as such be conducted later on by local committees? (2) Can these committees raise the funds required?

The first is easier of solution than the second, and probably the Settlements will need financial support from outside for some time to come. But the outlook is hopeful. "Our peasants had no need of this kind of social life before the war. The idea of a club was contrary to their social customs and traditions. Slow and steady, they remained very simple and discreet, loving the family life. Very reticent towards anything new, they were rather distrustful of strangers. But the

distress and neglect in which they found themselves awoke new desires for mutual help, and they gathered round the social centres like shipwrecked men. To-day they have learned to care for their clubs, which they have themselves helped to develop. Our wooden huts are no more sufficient. The people are afraid that these will not last, and make great efforts to get the village to build *foyers* in brick or stone."* The Settlements have, in fact, been centres of apprenticeship for citizens of a new era.

* * *

The report from Austria revealed a similar courage in facing conditions made difficult to an unexampled degree by the aftermath of war. Activities characteristic of Settlements are carried on by many organisations, but the Ottakring Settlement in Vienna is alone in its possession of a house and group of resident workers who since 1918 have sought to meet the needs of the whole local community. Denominational societies provide primarily, if not solely, for the members of their respective churches. The societies for adult education do not aim at the creation of a better understanding between classes, though their work has value from that point of view. Social democratic organisations have a political purpose. "Knowledge of the life of the people in its many complexities is not yet demanded as a preparation for the professions. We therefore lack the students and temporary workers who, beside the permanent ones, set their stamp on Settlement life in England. . . . Teachers have confessed their helplessness when confronted by their first classes because

they neither know nor understand the mode of life of proletarian children. Legal sentences frequently display the same lack of knowledge.”*

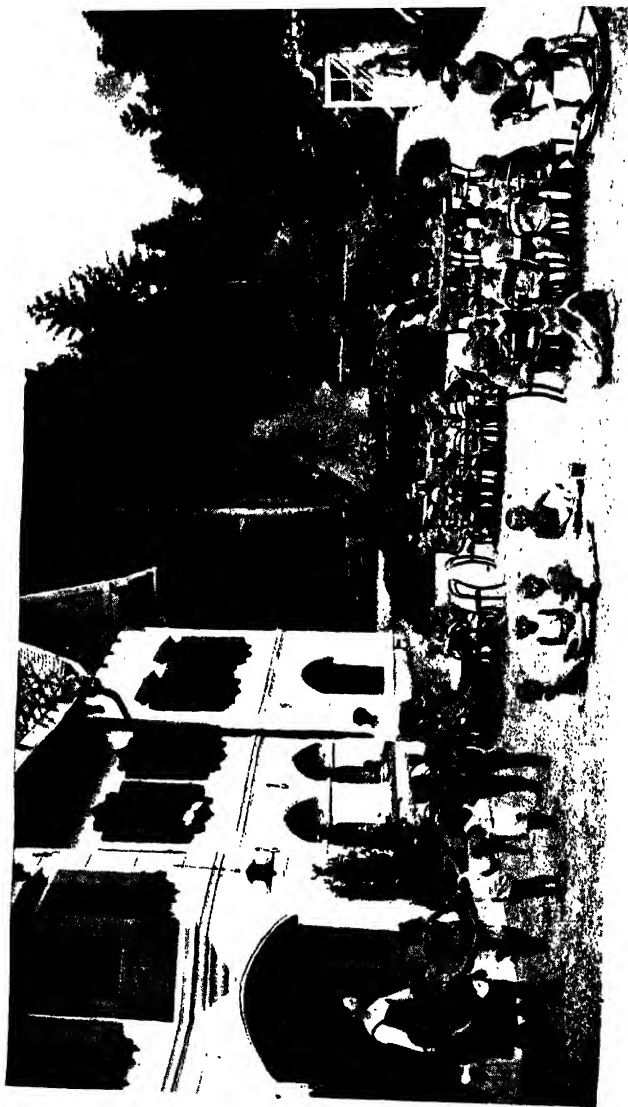
Personality again has proved its power in Settlement work. Miss Federn herself has been the vitalising force at Ottakring. “The first President of our Settlement, Dr. Remier, who later became Federal Chancellor, was able to gain the confidence of the working classes in our aims, while we could only advance slowly, and through our actual achievements, in the respect of other circles. During the first years of our work, our permanent workers belonged only to the younger generation of the liberal *bourgeoisie* interested in a social policy, while now they come to us from all classes. We try to establish purely human relations between them all. Hence we educate ourselves as well. . . . To act as mediator is of special importance in our excited times, when persons holding different opinions are regarded as personal enemies.

“In organising our work we laid much stress on educating our fellow-workers and the labouring classes into co-responsibility. We therefore accept all who desire to participate regularly in our meetings as fully privileged members. Representatives of our proletarian members are on all our committees.”† Finance is arranged on the basis of one-third from working-class sources, one-third from associate members and friends, and one-third from public funds, though the present difficulties of exchange result in the dependence of the Settlement chiefly on donations from abroad.

The Settlement attempts through the individual to reach the entire family, and provides for all ages. There

* Report presented by Miss E. Federn.

† *ibid.*



A CHILDREN'S COUNTRY HOME IN AUSTRIA.

Carried on in connection with the Vienna Catechism.

is education in play for children, music and applied arts, games and dancing for adults, and the club work is specially successful among young people. Health work takes a prominent place and by co-operation with doctors much guidance is given to individuals and families. To the care of consumptives, in direct co-operation with the National Centre for Combating Tuberculosis, great attention is given, and since 1918, some 849 families and 2,316 individuals have been under Settlement supervision; housing conditions are the great difficulty, of course. Maternity and infant-welfare work is also carried on. Use was made of connection with friends in the country to arrange holidays for convalescents from the town, but the existing enmity between town and country has practically put an end to this. The Settlement has a house in the country put at its disposal by Mr. Beheller, of London, in 1920, and this it fills in spring and autumn with small children and in summer with school-children. Relief work for unemployed and aged people is in present circumstances almost impossible. "Yet we firmly believe, with our President, that the Settlement will not come to an end unless Austria herself is destroyed, and we hope that the Settlement Movement will extend and grow throughout the country."*

* * *

It is thirty years since Herr Walther Classen, of Hamburg, paid a visit to Toynbee Hall, realised there that educated and well-to-do people have to make good a great debt to their fellow-men of the working classes, and went back to found the *Hamburger Volksheim*, from which other similar centres sprang up in the city.

* Miss E. Federn.

Contrary to his intention, these did not become residential, though in their club-work they approximated to certain Settlement activities. They developed mainly as educational centres on a social basis. But when in 1911 Lic. Siegmund-Schultze started the *Soziale Arbeitsgemeinschaft* in Berlin he did so in close spiritual and practical co-operation with Walther Classen, receiving much help also from Dr. Werner Picht, whose visits to Toynbee Hall resulted in his writing *Toynbee Hall and the English Settlement Movement*, a book very widely read in Germany. Dr. Siegmund-Schultze, when a student, had realised the seriousness of the social problem in German cities and had been impressed by the failure of orthodox Christian society to deal with it. Visits to Settlements in England and America deepened his convictions, and he, like Walther Classen, gave up the pastoral career to give himself to Settlement work. In 1911, with his wife, his sister, and three students, he took lodgings in the East-end of Berlin, and began, on the basis "First do, then preach," the Settlement Movement that has since spread to many other cities in Germany. In 1913 women students from Berlin University came to reinforce the men. The necessity for whole-time workers had become evident; the sense of vocation and of comradeship in an essentially Christian enterprise had been greatly intensified. Then came the war, and nearly all these pioneers of the *Soziale Arbeitsgemeinschaft* lost their lives—a disaster similar to that experienced by Settlements in other countries. The Revolution followed, but the necessity of Settlement work was almost greater than before, and to-day the number of residents in Berlin-East tends to exceed the accommodation.

Meantime students going from Berlin to other

universities started similar centres in other towns, and even before the war something had been done to bring students and working people into contact, as for example in Halle and Leipzig. At Stettin, Breslau, and in the Moabit district of Berlin, beginnings were made. Among the smaller university towns Marburg is specially notable for the work of a group of women students, which has supplied permanent workers for Berlin-East. Small groups, nearly always among students, have developed in other towns, and they find in connection with Berlin-East a common bond. A significant development is taking place at Chemnitz, where an idealist movement among socialist workmen had led to their founding a Settlement for themselves with a view to the service of their neighbours.

There is no hard and fast Settlement programme. Settlements co-operate with social movements such as those for temperance and housing reform. But they have no dogmatic plan for a new social order. "These things do not characterise us; they are not typical forms. We do not want to say 'This is the only way to the liberation of the working classes, to the new social order.' Certainly all these questions and problems are concerning us very much. We try to do whatever we can to bring about a solution. But many other people do just the same, perhaps do it better than we. And further, we do not want to build up the new *Volkskirche* (People's Church), to create a new denomination. We leave that to those who have made it their special concern. . . . But we have seen the plight of the people. We have seen the sufferings of those who suffer unjustly. We have seen the guilt of those who possess only for the sake of possessing things and not in order to share them with their brother men. Seeing all

this, it has become clear to us that these things must be stopped, this order of things must be altered. If things remain as they are, we too are guilty, guilty with all those who have brought about such circumstances. . . . We see that the way out is the way of Jesus, who came not that people should serve Him but that He should serve them. In this spirit we seek our way to our labourer-friends as a brother seeking his brother. . . . And at the same time our heart must go out to the people of our own class, whose eyes must be opened to the necessity of a new social order. . . . We do not want to reconcile man to unbearable surroundings; we do not want to reconcile capitalist and labourer; we do not want to reconcile classes to each other—so long as the basis for such reconciliation in the recognition of mutual brotherhood is not there. What we want is reconciliation of man to man, which is, after all, the reconciliation of man to God.”*

“It is not we who are bringing a new life to the working men. He has it, though often he has not known it. We discover it in living together. . . . And by its very nature the *Soziale Arbeitsgemeinschaft* must support the great international brotherhood movements. Fellowship in social work must necessarily be fellowship in international work, for we cannot understand why that task of reconciling man to man should come to a halt at national borders.’ †

With these aims the activities of the German Settlements are along familiar lines. Those of Berlin-East will serve as an example. The Settlement is in personal contact with at least 500 families. It has some nineteen

* Report presented by Herr Hermann Gramm.

† *ibid.*

clubs for boys, fifteen for girls, and two mixed. There are weekly meetings for men and women. Classes are carried on in languages, shorthand, natural history, philosophy, economics and domestic science. There is music and folk-dancing. Libraries are maintained for children and adults. At Wilhelmshagen a home for under-nourished children has had about 170 inmates for periods of eight to ten weeks, and the house has now been transformed into a conference centre and residential place of study to which young workmen from the *Volkshochschulen* can go for short periods. English working people have been there for holiday conferences this summer.

The Settlement co-operates in the work of the Juvenile Courts and started the *Stadtkinder aufs Land* movement for sending town-children into the country.

"In all these tasks we have, after ten years' work, succeeded in bringing about practical co-operation between working people and those of other classes. The leaders of the clubs have nearly always been students, but for some time now a number of the clubs have each been conducted by two workers, one a student and the other a young workman. Similarly working people are rendering valuable service in connection with the Juvenile Courts, and are helping the residents in other ways. The residents are mostly university students [though in Berlin-East a beginning has been made in securing working-class residents also]; they number forty in Berlin and several hundreds in the other centres. At the beginning of the movement these students were nearly all members of the Student Christian Movement. Later, especially since the war, many have come from the *Jugend-Bewegung* (Youth Movement). A new feature is the encouragement and help we are receiving from the

Arbeiter-Jugend-Bewegung (Proletarian Youth Movement), and from the friendship of these young people with our residents we are hoping much for the future. Despite the grave political and economic situation, we know that the spirit of a new life which the Settlement movement has brought to Germany will not die."*

* * *

"It is Toynbee Hall that inspired Holland. But this does not imply that Holland copied England. An inspired being is an original being."† For various reasons, though there are now fifty Settlements in Holland, none has ever been residential and all have made education for leisure their main objective. "The first 'People's House' (the Dutch generic name for Settlement) was founded in Amsterdam in 1891. Middelburg and the Hague followed in 1893, Schiedam in 1896, Leiden in 1799, Rotterdam in 1907. Nymegen, Harlingen, Haarlem, den Bosch, Hoogezand, Aardenburg and Oud Beyerland were among the first to start centres for educational work. At the same time thirty places started work, not from social, but from religious motives—but all the work is undenominational. In cities where a house was built on purpose, the work spread more rapidly and became more popular than where it did not find any adequate expression in brick. Just as in England, the character of a special Settlement depended as much upon the personality of the first warden as its activities depended on the kind of surroundings in which it happened to be founded. And as with all pioneer work, we did not ask what kind of work agreed with the Settlement idea, but what kind of work needed to be done. Leiden started the Poor Man's Lawyer because

* Herr Hermann Gramm.

† Report presented by Miss E. C. Knappert.

the founder and chairman was a professor of Law at Leiden University. And as it so happened that the first warden of the Leiden Settlement and a friend of hers had a big and fine collection of reproductions of great art, this house was first in starting a lending library of pictures. It is safe to say that all Settlements in Holland were, or wanted to be, educational. Some thought more of instruction, others of education. Some were as proud of the large number of subjects for lessons on their programme as others of the small number, because the latter thought it the business of the public authorities to provide efficient cultural and technical instruction for the people.”*

The initiative came from the middle-classes, from which also in the main came the response. Individuals and not corporations were generally the founders. None of the Settlements is backed or supported by a University, though undergraduates as individuals help. More women than men have participated. This is perhaps a reason why Settlement work has permeated the life of the nation less than in England—the future employers and employed have not met as young men. The relation of the Settlements to national and local bodies, to associations of employers and employed, and to social service agencies is not organic. Generally speaking they are on friendly terms with all the forces that make for progress. But “no Settlement in Holland has ever stood for the human side of labour as consistently and frankly as Toynbee Hall.”†

“The ideal of all Settlements in our country is, or ought to be, to turn out happier and morally stronger and more efficient human beings, whatever their

* Miss E. C. Knappert.

† *ibid.*

theological or political or social creed. As to the scope of their activities, their programmes contain lessons and informal regular gatherings with a very limited number of adolescents (what we call a club, something quite different from the way in which you use the word), reading rooms for children and adolescents, concerts, exhibitions, lectures, lending libraries of pictures, poor man's lawyer, debating clubs, story-telling, choral societies, drill. These 'clubs' for children, for boys, and for girls are a common feature. They gather once a week, always the same lot of a dozen, and always the same leader. At festivals the groups gather into a big unit and realise by joint performances that they form an organic whole. The Dutch Settlement finds its main activities with children and adolescents, as far as personal contact is concerned. The influence on adults is of a more indirect nature. They attend concerts and lectures, they come to exhibitions; in some places they have debating clubs and some sort of tutorial classes, in others natural history clubs and regular excursions.

"The Settlement at Amsterdam—owing to local circumstances—is the only one that gets grants from the municipality. This is why it could afford to create branches in different parts of the city. The municipality followed the excellent example of private building societies, which had added a special house for Settlement work to big blocks of working-class cottages, and there are now fourteen such, in many of which the Public Library has branches."*

Amsterdam has other work on a smaller scale, and in Rotterdam and the Hague Settlements have arisen in various parts of the town which are independent, but in friendly association with the older foundations. In many

* Miss E. C. Knappert.

villages social centres are created with the same purpose as the People's Houses, but they tend to expect too much from the towns. "It seems a misfortune and the reverse of real culture to transfer townish things to the country."

"If you ask me whether there has ever been in Holland a Settlement Movement, the answer must be in the negative. But the idea from which the Settlement sprang is alive everywhere, and new conditions are giving new expression to its realisation. If I discern the signs of the time rightly, the greatest difference between the old and the new ways of Settlement work in Holland is that whereas the educational social work for which our People's Houses stand has until now been done *for* the working-classes, this work in the immediate future will be done *with* them. If this proves to be true it will mean :—

"(1) That what we considered to be needed has turned out to be wanted.

"(2) That a regular contact of human beings belonging to different social strata on a basis of mutual understanding and goodwill has results even in a country where, as a theory, at least, the class-war is more acute and more thorough than in England. In this respect our People's Houses, to put it mildly, have been working in the right direction.

"As far as I can see, the actual duty of the educational centres in Holland is to take in hand, not to-morrow, but to-day, the arduous question of what education really means."*

* * *

Norway has a Settlement in the east end of Christiania which is now about three years old, and was started by

* Miss E. C. Knappert.

the Student Christian Movement, which supports it financially and finds about fifty voluntary workers, chiefly women students. There are sixteen (all women) living in the Settlement House with the Secretary-Warden, a full-time paid worker, and an interesting feature is that there are also resident a few factory girls who have taken part in the work. The growth of activities will necessitate another full-time worker whose special task will be that of the kindergarten.

From quite a small beginning some sixteen branches of Settlement activity have developed. There are about 200 members of the children's clubs, and 130 of the adults'. Games and handwork enter largely into the programme of the children's clubs, and the kindergarten meets every morning. Scouts and Guides also are part of the organisation. "The children's clubs are the activities that have been most successful. The children and their mothers, for whom we have a club, are the most easy to reach. Then we have a club for old men and women, with meetings each fortnight, each member having a student to visit him or her. There is a club for grown-up girls, with a Christian programme, Bible classes, discussions and lectures. An English class and a party for physical training have been started. Each Saturday evening we have a social evening, with music and entertainments. On Sunday evenings the house is open for all who like to come in, and a library is open on Wednesdays and Saturdays."*

Members of the various clubs and societies pay a small subscription, which they are well able to afford, and which increases their appreciation of what the Settlement provides. The housing conditions present the

* Report presented by Miss Dagny Thorvall.

greatest problem of the neighbourhood, and this makes such a social centre as the Settlement all the more necessary. Educational work has not been taken up because there are other organisations for the purpose. Indeed there are various agencies for work akin to that of Settlements. Such, for example, is one in which university students teach in the evening adults who are at work all day; again "The Comrade Club" is an association of factory girls and students who have common meetings for the development of friendship. But "The Settlement" corresponds most closely to Settlements in other countries.

"Our first aim is the Christian one, as the workers come from the Student Christian Movement. Then we want to bring the classes nearer to each other. We students must try to understand the working-class and they us. The Settlement is also a good training school in social work for the students."*

* * *

Denmark, unfortunately, was not actually represented at the Conference, but a brief account of work there was sent by Mr. A. Morville, of the Christian Student Settlement situated in the one big city of Denmark, Copenhagen, which, alongside its university, has a slum area where "the density of population is more than double that of the most densely populated parts of London."

"Inspired by the English Settlements, Danish Christian students took up the idea and founded this, the only Settlement in Denmark at present, in 1911. It is a student Settlement in the strictest sense of the word, since our sixty Settlement workers are all students,

* Miss Dagny Thorvall.

representing every section. In 1914 the Settlement moved to its present premises—four flats in a common house in the midst of the slum, and here we have all our meetings. On account of the present shortage of housing it has been impossible to get more room.

“Our problem is how to get into touch with the workers as a whole, their organisations and their leaders; we have only succeeded in getting hold of the man in the street, the single individual.”*

The finance of the Settlement is based on voluntary contributions, though grants have been made also by private institutions and by the State. A university professor is head of the Settlement, but the practical direction of the work is in the hands of the secretary, who, with other residents, lives on the premises.

“The aim of the Settlement is expressed in the first paragraph of our rules, which reads: ‘The aim of the Christian Students’ Settlement is, in the name of Jesus Christ, to do social and religious work in a slum area, to bring into touch with one another Christian students and the working class, and to further social interest and understanding among the students.’”†

The programme includes clubs for men, women, boys, girls and old people, lectures, discussions, entertainments and so forth. In 1919 the Settlement opened a summer camp, with a fine new wooden building accommodating fifty children, beside staff and students. “Characteristic of the whole is the intensity of the work, with clubs of boys and girls not exceeding thirty in number, and with two, three or even more students attending each club, visiting the homes, and trying to

* Report forwarded by Mr. A. Morville.

† *ibid.*

know each single individual. The Settlement has won a position in the quarter where it lies, and is now of real importance to the neighbourhood, being regarded with more and more confidence and hope by those who surround us."*

* * *

Even so living and varied a story is incomplete. Perforce much has had to be omitted from the account of work in each individual country. There are several countries from which no report had been received at all, though the Movement has reached them. At the beginning of the survey session Mrs. Barnett reminded the Conference that the great task of sharing the best and creating friendship is a constantly unfolding one. As public and private agencies take over more of what Settlements have initiated, the Settlements are only thereby set free for further pioneering, for eliciting, as friends, facts that never come to the knowledge of officials, and proclaiming, as from a watch-tower, principles that the community must put into practice. Mr. Seeborn Rowntree urged, with a vein of humour, but in all seriousness, that there are many groups in that community largely, as yet, untouched by Settlements, and that employers were amongst the most needy. But the pictures sketched one after another, pictures not of institutions but of little companies of friends and neighbours animated by so vital an ideal that their expressions of it are infinitely diverse, created the conviction that here is a world-wide force of limitless potentialities. So, like Paul and Luke in that earlier story of quiet but irresistible expansion, we thanked God and took courage.

* Mr. A. Morville.

CHAPTER V

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SETTLEMENTS

AMIDST activities so multifarious, and even so disparate, what have Settlements in common? What gives a Settlement a claim to call itself such? Some speak of the "Settlement method." To others the "Settlement spirit" is a more significant phrase. No one ever dreams of an orthodoxy of organisation. But the Philistine comes with his awkward questions—"What is a Settlement? What is it for? Why give the same name to such different things?" Then falls a silence upon the faithful. It is not enough to refer enthusiastically to Toynbee Hall or Hull House, to *La Résidence Sociale* or Beechcroft, the *Soziale Arbeitsgemeinschaft* or the People's Houses at Amsterdam. Have they a common objective, and if so, what is it? Do they fulfil a similar function in a rich variety of quite dissimilar ways? They trace their descent in common to Canon Barnett. But the world has changed a great deal in the course of fifty years. Does it need now what his genius and common sense created then? Or if not that, what else, and how is this something else related to what he and his helpers discerned and did? What place and function has the Settlement in our present workaday world? It is a matter of very practical importance that this should be clear to ourselves and to other people. Then, whatever as individual Settlements we decide that we are called upon to do will be done with conviction. We shall not hesitate to abandon the irrelevant or to

adventure the untried. And we shall be reinforced by our belief in the value, for this purpose, of the quite different things others are doing from the same motive and with the same end in view.

Certain words recurred repeatedly as one speaker after another tried to define a philosophy of Settlements for to-day—neighbour and neighbourhood, education and public opinion, the group and citizenship, democracy and community, leadership and co-operation, personality and the family, the nation, or the commonwealth of peoples. These are all notes that belong, not to some simple air, but to a rich harmony. No one Settlement, no group, no national movement is likely to strike them all. The growing variety and definiteness of emphasis on the part of groups and national federations is therefore all the more valuable.

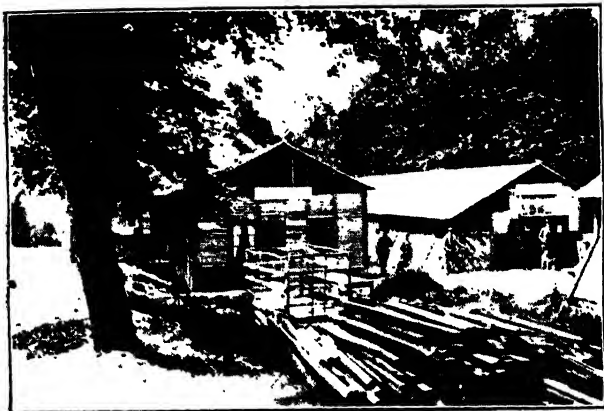
In a few sentences, the day's discussion may be said to amount to this: the business of Settlements is to create a new type of community life, comprehending all of thought, experience and power of service that every neighbour can bring, seeking the causes of prevailing social wrongs and maladjustments, thinking out the lines of a satisfactory solution, practising within the limits of the local, self-governing group what it wants to see worked out in the larger fields of city, nation, or world, finding means of expression for all the love of truth, beauty and goodness hidden in the lives of ordinary men and women, and by the cultivation of natural friendship among people of all sorts, circumstances, and opinions, making possible the art of "living with folks" as Miss McDowell says.

A Settlement, then, is neither a colony of well-intentioned middle-class people that has thrust itself into a poor district, nor "a marine-store of

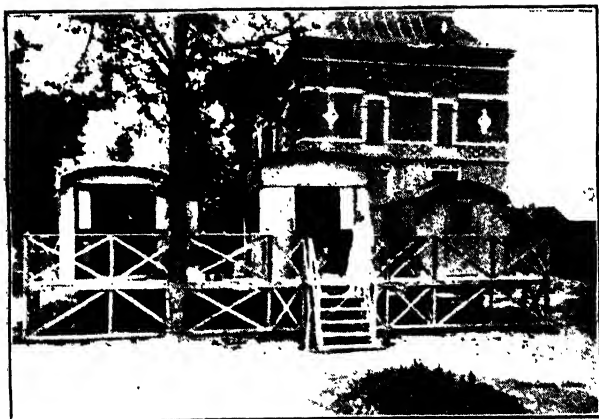
philanthropic oddments," nor a mere lecture-agency and congeries of evening-classes, nor an ordinary club and recreation room. It is a centre where people find one another, perceive and tackle a common social and spiritual task, and enter into the joy of life.

Settlement work is a community enterprise. The pioneers were university men who were in revolt against not merely the social conditions of their time, but the Victorian spirit of condescension that characterised their own class, the cruelty and cynicism that exploited working men day by day under the cover of fulfilling the duty of giving them employment, and then sought to keep them quiet by "educational and social facilities." "The University of to-day is no longer a corpus of superior beings with extra- or super-mundane interests, looking over superciliously upon the vulgar herd beneath. It is very much in the world and of the world. No learning, no research, that is humane, is alien to it. It aspires to lead in everything that makes for the uprise of the intellect and therewith for the fulness and satisfaction of the life of the community. The Settlement affords a valuable means of coming to understand the needs and aspirations of the seething artizan populations of our great cities and centres of industry, of studying the defects in our social system and the means of remedying these, of combating the dulness and deadness of brain and the sordid materialism that are all too apt to descend upon those who, day in and day out, the year through, perform the same mechanical routine, of bringing to them healthy recreation both of body and of mind, and by our interest showing that we are all members of one body, dependent one on the other. . . .

"Briefly, the philosophy of Settlements is to be summed up as service in the form of neighbourhood



Poste de Roye, Somme : Reception Centre for Gift



Poste de Roye, Somme : Residence for Workers.

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT IN THE DEVASTATED AREA OF FRANCE.

(Le Secours d'Urgence dans les Regions Libérées sous la
Présidence d'honneur de Mme. la Maréchale Joffre.)

leadership ; service, not conversion ; service, so far as regards university Settlements, on the part of those to whom great advantages have been given on behalf of the greater number of those to whom these advantages have been denied ; service, not charity, a giving of oneself rather than of one's possessions ; service both immediate and mediate, through direct influence and through study of conditions of life leading to improvement in those conditions.

• " This is the primary philosophy, but naturally it has undergone evolution in various directions in the course of development during the last forty years. For example, experience gained has demonstrated that the university man is not essential. It has led the community to see that much can be accomplished by its own initiative. This has resulted in England in the development more particularly of educational Settlements. The schools in America are being increasingly used in the evenings as centres for communal activities, meetings of the local citizens' committee, debates and political discussions, lectures, concerts by the local orchestra—in short, for the development of an intelligent, resourceful, unified citizenship."*

Individualism, in fact, has long had its day, even if it has not ceased to be. The man who still regards life as a struggle between personality and environment is considerably out of date. The Settlement view of things is that we all are members one of another, and the material is an instrument of the spiritual. It is for the realisation of this that Settlements exist. Much that was said about their own experience by representatives of many countries during the conference corroborated Mr. Horace

* Dr. Adami.

Fleming's statement with regard to England. "The trend in Settlement work is away from philanthropy and toward education. The majority of the sixty-six centres of which we have records engage in some form of educational work, and all those which have been founded in the last decade have given themselves over entirely to it. Why education? Life is too short and the expenditure of energy too precious for us to be concerned with any but the most fundamental things. . . . Democracy has power without capacity; Local Government will always halt by the way until all are equipped to take up the burden of citizenship; international discord can never become harmony until mutual understanding and the realisation of the interdependence of all peoples is part of the make-up of each individual; the too ready response of the crowd-mind to the stimulus of the Press can only be nullified by the spread of knowledge. The same story is true whether we think of politics, of industry, or of religion. But most of all we believe that the loss to humanity is incalculable if the treasures of character, capacity and genius are left buried under the sea of ignorance and are never raised to the surface.

"Our philosophy then is that the solution of most of life's problems lies with education, and that the task of the modern Settlement is the quickening and developing of the personal life of the individual and the social life of the community, and research into the obstacles which retard the full development of the individual and which hinder the growth of the community spirit.

"We are out for the development of the whole man. Our aim is to enlarge the area of consciousness in each individual so that he or she is aware of, and at home with, all that is beautiful and good and true. It is more

than peopling the countries of the mind with facts and ideas, though this is important ; it is the drawing out of the mental and physical faculties so that they shall be as wings to man's spirit and set him free.

" It is not our job to make all men scholars. We must not impose the interests of the educated upon those who are not. Rather have we to encourage men and women to follow up their own interests until they reach the point when these become the means of restoring the balance of their being.

" Some would like the idea carried still further. We believe that man is a spiritual being, that the universe has a spiritual basis, and that it is only when man is able to dwell on the plane of admiration, hope and love, that he will find his life worth while. Only when these qualities of the spirit take precedence over the present material and temporal values will the world become the place in which the free spirit of man will find its rightful home."

But social education is as important as individual. " The Settlement must not only be a reconciling centre, a meeting-place where men and women of all shades of class and opinion can learn from each other. It must concern itself with the development of the social organisations of the neighbourhood. The life of institutions needs to be kept fresh and vigorous, needs to be widened and deepened, quite as much as the life of individuals. . . . By contact and by the results of successful social experiments, the Settlements can do much to inspire other institutions and raise the temperature of community life.

" Even its research work is approached by the Settlement from the educational point of view. Social evils are those things which obstruct and hinder the growth

and development of man's personality. These are to be sought out, isolated and emphasised, so that the public conscience may be aroused and the community made aware of the conditions which exist, and that these conditions are sins against the Holy Ghost. It lies with Settlements to initiate the sentiment, until it becomes a social complex, that the slow starvation of personal capacity, and the stunting of man's higher powers, are more anti-social than many of the things of which the law takes cognisance to-day. . . . '

"The Settlement itself should be in miniature a demonstration of the life it desires to see manifest in the wider world. It should be a place of refinement, and have the atmosphere of a home rather than that of an institution. Its group life should be sufficiently magnetic and inspiring to draw out in the individual members unthought-of qualities of mind and character.

"The quickening and raising of the level of individual and community life is the great objective. The Settlement itself is to be an energising force, and through its students going out into the wider life of active citizenship it can permeate a whole town. Never in the history of the world was the work more needed. Industrial and rural areas alike cry out for it. Settlements are as applicable to Russia, India and the East as they are to the Western world, for everywhere the mind and spirit of man needs to be set free."*

It will be seen from these quotations that the philosophy of Settlements to-day is essentially comprehensive, and yet not vague. It is really a philosophy of group life, such as Miss Follet develops in *The New State*. The objective, from whatever practical personal or social

* Mr. Horace Fleming.

problem we start, is that of finding a finer way of life and practising it together. The method is that of working from within outwards, creating public opinion and giving effect to it in the neighbourhood, so that it brings fuller life to the individual in and through the group and changes the institutions of politics, industry, social life and even international relationships. All these are seen in their interdependence.

"There are three main drifts in the Settlement enterprise to-day, as in the beginning: educational, communal and mediatory. . . . We all begin to feel the elation that comes of the activity of the educational Settlements, and it is to be hoped that every agency bearing the name will catch something of their motive. Let us, however, make our cultural outlook so wide that we shall afford the higher opportunity to all sorts and conditions of the Settlement constituency. Let the American Settlements, which have so largely given up the specific effort to impart the treasures of literature and scholarship, get the contagion of the English educational Settlements in this respect; but let the English Settlements consider the progress of the American houses with regard to instruction in the arts, particularly of music and the drama. . . .

"Let us all be seized and possessed of the conviction that the whole Settlement programme in all its aspects is, and must be, educational. Let every phase of work for the improvement of health, for a higher standard of living, for the increase of happiness and joy, for ethical and spiritual fulfilment, be conceived as educational from first to last."*

Again we have the emphasis on social education as

* Mr. Robert A. Woods.

inseparable from individual, on the community as the Settlement unit :

“ We hear with great interest of the possibility of applying the guild principle to the reorganisation of industry. The Settlement has been engaged for a generation on an enterprise in social structure, on a guild experiment in terms of the local community. . . . The building up of a disordered and disintegrated neighbourhood in its conditions and its relations, and the drawing out of its personal and collective capacities, has been developed by the Settlement as a kind of new art which begins to prove itself, on the one hand, indispensable to the progress of democracy, and, on the other, quite capable of being learned, practised and broadly applied. . . .

“ ‘ To connect the centres of culture and the centres of industry ’—this original motive finds the two parties indicated in phenomenally different relative positions to-day from those when the Settlement was merely a proposal of Canon Barnett’s to the students of Oxford and Cambridge. But the rise to power on the part of the working class only makes such interchange all the more vital to the future of civilisation. There cannot be any more important message to the Settlements everywhere than that which will bring them, with fresh thought and purpose, into participation with the economic issues that confront their neighbours in all their relations to the industrial system and process.

“ I would suggest, in this connection, that the duty of the Settlement is not merely that of the critic and reformer ; it has a more immediate function as constructor. It is not unfair to believe that many experiments in the more human and more democratic

organisation of given industries have been affected by Settlement experience and object lessons. . . .

"The Settlement has made an essential contribution towards a better attitude in labour questions on the part of all concerned by seeing to it that, in advance of conflict, there were persons representing capital, labour, and the consuming public who have established human relations with one another. A vast field for such service still remains."*

Though "neighbourhood," in the intimate and concentrated sense, becomes increasingly the note of Settlement work, the ultimate influence of that work is constantly recognised as world-wide. Thus Mr. Woods, like Mr. Fleming, ends his paper with a call to world-service, springing from a Settlement Movement with a world-consciousness :

"The International Conference outlines the final and crowning phase of a movement for association and federated policy on the part of Settlements which is seen in England, America and France. This tendency is greatly to be encouraged, not only for its effect by reaction in broadening and stimulating the work of the individual houses, but for what it promises toward bringing forward a unison of purpose among local communities which are developing the standards of a new order of things. . . .

"The International Conference presupposes that in this devotion to the nation as a spiritual union of its neighbourhoods we have a universal human appeal, a genuine co-ordinating subject-matter, which at once beings people of goodwill everywhere into one accord . . . In a very peculiar sense the International

* Mr. Robert A. Woods.

Conference of Settlements can highly resolve that the world is all one neighbourhood.”*

The life of a Settlement, if it is to fulfil such functions, must be both conservative and creative. It must shape social purposes and co-ordinate social forces as well as cultivate social ideals. And all this must be upon a basis of fuller mutual understanding between groups as between persons. It does not accept even existing geographical distributions of men and women of widely differing circumstances and traditions. If they are not found already living in close proximity to each other they must be enabled in some way to share each other's lives more completely. That is the idea behind insistence on a residential nucleus or a real common-room.

“A Social Centre addresses itself at one and the same time to a wide public, in order to affect its organisation, and to individuals, in order that it may penetrate to the different elements in their life, so that it may develop and co-ordinate the whole. It has a synthetic task with regard both to individuals and to groups, seeking to bring into equilibrium the forces so often menaced by excessive specialisation.

“The first step is accomplished by the fact of residence, by the continued presence, in social surroundings of a backward type, of men and women whose moral and intellectual life is more developed and whose will is bent upon giving the best of themselves for the progress and well-being of the group amidst which they have chosen to live.”†

This willingness to lay aside personal advantage for the sake of service awakens a new conception of existence

* Paper forwarded by Mr. Robert A. Woods.

† Mlle. de Gourlet.

among uncultivated people, whether working people or the new rich. "The Social Centre becomes the ground upon which people can meet who otherwise would never have found the opportunity of coming into contact with each other, unless in circumstances that only increase the distance between them. Relations between employer and employed, merchant and customer, working people and professional people, or simply rich and poor, give rise to a better understanding which cannot fail to bind them together."*

"Upon these friendships is based the whole work of the Social Centre, and a prominent part of that work lies in the renewal of traditions amongst those who have lost them, or in building them for people who did not possess them before and consequently had no adequate social organisation. . . . In the populous quarters of great cities, particularly, individuals and families who come to the Centres seem to belong to a part of the community, without a past, without education, without ideals, without any community principle, and so unable to become real home-makers or citizens, . . . and the life of the Centre creates the conviction that the future is prepared by the past, and that the present hour cannot be isolated from responsibility for what has been done and for what is to come. This in its turn brings about the sense of solidarity, and the individual who acquires that sense has thereby become a social being. . . . What must be the work of the Social Centre if not to renew the course of the ages, to keep alive the power of self-renewal by which both towns and villages can continue their life, to give cohesion to the forces that spring out of the past with those that arise in our

* Mlle. de Gourlet.

own day, and to guide the perpetual evolution of a social life which otherwise might prove to be without depth or equilibrium? Therefore, the Social Centre seeks the help of everyone, of the humblest as well as of those who belong to the 'influential classes,' so that the work shall be their own, and all should have a share in responsibilities and duties involved in a common task too heavy to be carried out without the co-operation of all.

"This democratic and brotherly union is a prominent characteristic of our Social Centres. Whether therefore the emphasis happens to be in some centres on the development of intellectual life, or in others upon questions of health, or of material and economic life, this will not be the sole aim. They will be giving themselves to the community in order to build up its organisation, and to the individual in order to foster in him the growth and expression of fulness of life."*

Is all this, however, mere middle-class day-dreaming? It may be the dominant vision of Settlement leaders, but does it correspond to the facts of our time? Are the forces that have their grip upon the world at present to be met and subdued by the application of this philosophy of Settlements? We may desire that every Settlement should be a true community centre, but are the masses of the people willing to help to make it so?

Naturally there are those who take a pessimistic view. From many quarters, and especially from Central Europe, we heard of conditions that might well appear almost hopeless, with growing feuds and deepening bitterness of despair. Herr Walther Classen painted a gloomy picture of a perpetual social degeneration:

* Mlle. de Gourlet.

"The life of our industrial population is doomed to run down without a remedy. This population becomes more and more degenerate and devoid of intellectual and moral interests. With all our love of mankind we live in the middle of a natural evolution, wherein we see the ground of our civilisation becoming a slum."*

Yet he discerned native forces of regeneration amid the development of industrial, commercial and political materialism—"a longing for light in the soul of the patient people itself." The practical problem for the Settlements, as he stated it, is to recognise these forces, prepare the way for them, and awaken and educate leaders who will direct them aright. In working-class organisations—especially trade unions and co-operative movements, there is a movement demanding that intelligence and humanity shall control the material and mechanical in industry. But for this more than organisation is needed. "These movements are working only technically. They cannot reconstitute the texture of human society, for the cells are family and community, and not merely organisation."† And here the Settlement philosophy of friendship and mutual service comes in.

Again, in Germany "among all grades and shades of society, there is among our youth a hungering for religion. The movement springs up in different parts of the country and in different classes—not among the poorest, down-trodden people, but among the youth in whose souls there still lives a remembrance of their forefathers living amidst the fields and by the woods. Among them there arises a cry for a genuine and pure

* Herr Walther Classen.

† *ibid.*

life, and a hatred of the unrest and the vices of the big cities, the fraud of our civilisation. . . . Former individualists see their own nation, their fellow human beings, in the dust and the moral degeneration of the towns and they hear the call to help them and to reform not only conditions of life, but above all the inner condition of soul and will. The Youth Movement becomes social—social in the Christian sense.”

Here again the validity of our philosophy of Settlements is demonstrated. Those younger people in whose hands lies the future of nations are seeking this very simplicity and sincerity in fellowship with each other and service of the community which Settlements are eager to foster.

Thus the challenge to state and to apply a philosophy of Settlements adequate to the conditions that confront us to-day is renewed. As we were reminded,* in the early days Settlements were needed as a means of drawing attention to the fact and the nature of the social problem. They fought for the supersession of mere charity by scientific method in social work. State departments and voluntary agencies have, as a result, come into existence for the express purpose of dealing effectively with common social tasks. To the argument that Settlements are now no longer needed it is often replied that the method of friendship characteristic of early Settlement work is an end and not merely a means. “To this comes the reply that no one desires to prevent the Oxford man from living in a slum, but why organise such a perfectly normal thing as everyday life into an institution? Why make a Settlement of it! The criticism is reflected in the fact that the

* Mr. W. Mabane.

majority of Settlements in this country are on the verge of bankruptcy, or in serious financial difficulties; they are badly housed, understaffed, and such staff as they have is underpaid. In some instances, the number of residents is below the accommodation of the house, and of the residents only a limited number are of the type in whom the Settlement idea is properly enshrined, the rest being rather boarders with only the most fleeting interest in or capacity for the work of the Settlement. The wretched Warden is faced by the dilemma of financial loss resulting from an empty house, or spiritual loss resulting from incompetent residents. . . .

"The mere fact of a deliberate residence in the slums, without a very clear knowledge of the reason and purpose of that residence, will never be an effective binding force for any group. . . .

"The years that have passed since the inauguration of Settlements have seen a remarkable development of specialisation in social work. . . . The Settlement started by being general. They laid their hands to anything, and probably did it better than anyone else could do it until the experts arrived, until at the present time social work is quite definitely professionalised and able to look after itself. The Settlements may endeavour to fulfil a useful function by being centres for the training or supply of professionals. This seems to me rather dull. Or they may find a particular piece of specialist work that suits them and go ahead with it. That is the way of progress. . . .

"The early Settlements found herded together in our large industrial centres a population that has practically no capacity for looking after itself. They discovered what was perhaps the most devastating consequence of the Industrial Revolution (i.e., the destruction of that

community spirit and organisation which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries sprang from the smallness of towns and the fact that most people lived in villages ; there was spontaneous expression of the community idea in industry, religion and recreation). The early Settlements found vast masses collected in our monstrous amorphous cities, and no communal sense in any of them.

“ What must have appalled the early Settlements, and what indeed appals us still to-day, is the amazing passivity of the people—passive in work, passive in play, passive even in opinion. But since Canon Barnett first came to the East End great changes have taken place. Not only has the leaven of public education had time to work, but all the other social reforms have slowly, almost imperceptibly, been changing the mental complexion of the mass of the people, and though they are still passive I believe they are now potentially active. Young democracy is now stirring into life, and I believe has an amazing fund of energy at its command. Little by little it is learning the method and the value of group organisation, and thus finding its way to the establishment of an active communal life. The way is hard because all the units of community organisation to which we are accustomed are so very large. The nation and the municipality alike are beyond the comprehension of the ordinary individual by reason of their immensity and complexity. Such significance as they have is symbolical rather than real. I believe that the unit of organisation which the new democracy will use will be a much smaller one ; it will be one so small that the most peddling mind will comprehend it. That unit will be what for want of a better name we may call the neighbourhood. The new state will be built on a foundation

of organised neighbourhood groups. The particular task that I see awaiting the Settlement is the development of the neighbourhood group. Most Settlements already, if unconsciously, are moving in that direction. The younger of the two British Settlement organisations, the Educational Settlements Association, approaching the problem from a particularly difficult angle, is already finding that it has got on its hands not merely the centres of popular education that were intended, but really living neighbourhood centres, the members of which just refuse to confine their interests to education and range over all the social activities that concern their neighbourhood. In other Settlements, on the one hand, purely philanthropic activities are receding into the background, or being left to bodies more appropriate; on the other hand, the notion that the Settlement is a body of the élite, whose peculiar function it is to organise and to lead the surrounding populace, is passing, and instead the task attempted is that of giving the neighbourhood the power to organise itself for the carrying out of any social functions it desires to undertake. And every day we see that neighbourhoods do want to organise, first for recreation, outdoor and indoor pastimes; next for the development of dramatic and musical faculties; from here there is but a step to higher forms of educational work; and where the habit of organisation has grown strong there soon follows a marked inclination for these small neighbourhood groups to unite in turning their attention in earnest to all the industrial, social and political questions that affect the neighbourhood. It is only when child welfare, health and housing, education, recreation, industrial conditions, drink, immorality, and social questions generally, become the concern of active groups in every neighbourhood that

we can hope to get a real public opinion. The trouble to-day is not that the will of the people is ignored, but that it does not exist. . . .

“ I hope that Settlements will chose as their particular specialist work the building of a new society, the fostering, the development, and the organisation of the neighbourhood groups which will be the surest foundation of a new order.”*

* Mr. W. Mabane



LIC. D. SIEGMUND-SCHULTZE.

Leiter, Soziale Arbeitsgemeinschaft : Berlin-Ost.
A Pioneer of the German Settlements Movement.

CHAPTER VI

SETTLEMENTS AND EDUCATION

THE candid friend who tells you your proper place in the general scheme of things may prove, even when you have asked his advice, more irritating than inspiring. But when he has a wide knowledge of the sphere concerned, as Mr. R. H. Tawney has of education, and when you feel that he believes in you, as Mr. Tawney clearly does in Settlements, he is invaluable. For, after all, a philosophy, by itself, may not carry you far in your endeavour to find your job. There are too many people playing with education nowadays and there is too little education going on to justify Settlements in being anything less than certain as to what is their share. Mr. Tawney's suggestions fit extraordinarily well into what has already been said about the general task to which Settlements are committed.

" Their business in education is to help to create an enlightened public opinion about it. In parts of America there is a greater belief in education and willingness to spend money on it than there is here. In Germany and Austria there is an educational renaissance. In England during the last ten years there has been a great advance, an appreciation real and growing—but not discriminating. We are weak because we are divided. There is an immense ferment of educational thought, and on the other hand a genuine interest on the part of people who are not educationists but are concerned with raising the general level of life

The trouble is that the two do not come together. What we really need is education about education. We want to interpret the educational movement to parents, and we want teachers and administrators to see the social background which is the living condition of their work. Education has been a discipline imposed from above by one class upon another class. Working people have not regarded the schools as something made by themselves, and expressing their own needs and aspirations ; we must associate the parents with the schools. On the other hand, Board of Education officials should spend part of their lives in Settlements that they may see the human beings on whom they now write reports. . . .

"Settlements should be the educational conscience of the community. At present there is no single voice to speak in a disinterested and authoritative way. Among working people there is a genuine hunger for education for themselves and their children. The demand for secondary education exceeds the supply. The belief in education is there. We need an organ to express it. Settlements can bring parents, teachers and administrators together in conference—people of all types of opinion gather in a Settlement—and voice a real community opinion. . . .

"Educational research is essentially a task for Settlements. They have made contributions to the study of certain aspects of social questions. Yet the improvement of education lies at the root of every kind of social problem. It involves many important enquiries—e.g., How far are we making the best use of the character and capacity of children? What proportion of those qualified to receive higher education are in fact obtaining it? We ought not to be content with brute facts. We ought to know the explanations

of them—in the child himself, the family, social circumstances. Everyone desires an extension of the present normal period of school life, but working-class parents have felt that in the upper standards children have not progressed rapidly. How are we to make the best use of the period between eleven and fifteen? Settlements ought to be investigating the borderlands between the educational problem and the social—questions of health, employment, and so forth. The day continuation school experiment failed because the public mind was not prepared for it. We had not thought out exactly what function these schools should fulfil. Settlements should be studying this sort of problem. There could be no more remunerative expenditure for millionaires than to endow educational research. . . .

“Then again, we have no really adequate and continuous supply of information in this country about education abroad, as we have about industrial matters. New ideas in this country have generally come to us from pioneers and experimenters in other lands. By being in contact with these we might be enabled to make some contribution of our own. Official channels are not sufficient. Could not such an International Conference of Settlements as this create an International Bureau of Education? . . .

“So much is said nowadays about adult education. It will be a misfortune if we insist on treating education in isolated sections, having as our only principle of organisation the principle that no principle exists! In the last ten years the extent of the demand for adult education has been shown, and it has been demonstrated that, given adequate teachers, good work can be done. But we may go on multiplying classes without rethinking fundamentals. We must beware of middle-aged

respectability. There is the question of teaching subjects not at present taught in tutorial classes, but which might be in demand if we knew how to teach them better—such subjects as Natural Science. Again, how are we to provide advanced teaching for students who have already given some years to study? The mere passage from one tutorial class to another is not sufficient. The time should arrive when the student tries to make some contribution to the subject he is studying. After three years of work in a tutorial class such a man should be put by his tutor into touch with questions involving research, and should be helped to carry that research through. . . .

“There is finally the problem of one-sided study. In their own subjects adult students may reach a high standard. But this level of attainment is within a single subject. In a university half the benefit of the course arises from the fact that people studying different subjects are brought into contact with each other so that a widening of the mind results. In a tutorial class the student does this only in successive periods of three years or more. But the Settlement has the equipment, the staff, the facilities for carrying on classes simultaneously and so developing a corporate or collegiate spirit. The work of the Universities must be decentralised. It is necessary to multiply institutions through which work of a university character is carried on. One of the best nuclei is the Settlement.”*

This “corporate or collegiate spirit” is precisely what we find it so difficult to attain, even as between Settlement workers and those among whom they live. It is the key not only to a true education but to all practical

* Mr. R. H. Tawney.

social progress. We are beginning to see that there must be a commonwealth of the mind before there can be a commonwealth of industry or politics, civic or international-affairs. That does not come merely as a result of "the rich man in possession of education and the necessary means going to Lazarus because his heart is full to bursting with the sorrow of this world."* Neither does it follow simply from starting at the other end with "independent working-class education," or indeed "independent" "class" anything. The life and strength of Settlements has always lain in their recognition of personal values and their development of simple, natural personal relationships, resulting in the coming together of individuals to form a community without reference to class or tradition. Ideally the pursuit of education involves a similar process. It is essentially democratic in that all start from the common level of their humanity, each has a contribution to make, all are bent on one quest. That is the reason why, "if we face the facts, we see that this development in Germany as well as in England, has already set in—partly in the Settlements themselves—in a direction which points towards the *Volkshochschule* (Everyman's University)."† It is a response to what the working people themselves are asking for, rather than an outcome of what middle-class self-examination prompted a generation ago.

"It becomes increasingly apparent that from the subterranean world in which the Settlement had gained a footing, and which formerly was identical with the world of the proletariat, a class-conscious proletariat has arisen, aware of its power and able to cope with

* Dr. Werner Picht.

† *ibid.*

both the economic and the political struggle. . . . A new class has crystallised with a mode of living and thinking of its own, and with its leaders only too much inclined to look upon anything philanthropic as an insult. Its strongest incentive emanates from the desire for self-government and from distrust of the bourgeoisie whose leadership it refuses to acknowledge, and from whom, consequently, it does not desire benevolence of any kind—a symptom of the awakening sense of self-respect in the working class which should be respected.

“ A middle class person need no longer go to the slums to get in touch with the worker ; he can meet him in the House of Commons, on the County Council, and sit beside him on so and so many Committees. The life he leads is no longer a mysterious secret. In innumerable instances it is barely distinguishable from that of the lower middle classes.

“ But the danger of ‘ the two nations ’ is as great now as before. The new fourth class—more in Germany than in England, but existing in principle in every modern industrial town—is not linked up with the traditional national culture and at the same time is not able to acquire a form of culture of its own. For what some aspire to as a proletarian culture is an illusion.

“ One class within a civilised nation cannot produce a separate culture of its own, and what sometimes claims to be the beginning of a proletariat form of culture is nothing other than cuttings from the old plant, and indeed less valuable ones. Thus the centre of gravity of the danger of ‘ the two nations ’ has been transferred to the realm of the spirit. There the worker needs our assistance. But he needs it as *he* need his in other things. He needs the bourgeois *expert* as a teacher. The bourgeois no longer leaves his

particular world to seek the worker in his. They meet on neutral ground, on the ground of mutual study. Herewith the question of locality has become a subordinate practical matter and is no longer a symbol. For this highest form of adult education, poverty is not the magnet that draws us 'further and further East.' On the contrary, its appeal is to the chosen among the workers, to the most intelligent and the most independent, to those who will decide the future of their class. And yet I should not say that the appeal of education is to the workers; it is the workers themselves, with the help of the bearers of learning and art, who are shaping and directing this new institute according to their own needs and desires. The worker feels that he, side by side with others, is master in the house of this *Volkshochschule*, while in the Settlement he is a guest. This position of master in the house is the only one that suits the worker's new, and therefore so sensitive, feeling of independence. He dislikes influence from without, fearing hidden motives. He dislikes obligations, is not anxious to be presented with anything, for his instinct is subtle enough to know that this entails the strongest of ties. An extremely characteristic proof of this was an article in the Workers' Educational Association *Highway* the other day. A worker writes of the conditions in which the workers would receive a university man as tutor. He says 'The answer will appear readily enough, if it is remembered on what terms the professor makes use of the plumber. His terms are, Come only when you are wanted, do just what you are told to do in the best way, and charge the customary rate! If he likes to give him a glass of wine and a cigar in the drawing room, and have a chat with him about personal or general affairs, so much the better.

In the same way a group of plumbers should make use of the professor and say to him, Come when you are wanted, on class night, teach the subject we choose in the best way, and charge your customary rate. If the plumbers like to take him to the station afterwards and have a chat with him, and at the end of the class make him a presentation, again so much the better.'

"This very unsentimental way of expressing the case may hurt the feelings of many a well-intentioned server of humanity. But it shows distinctly that the best among the workers consider the age of patronage over and done with. On the ground of mutual work where both are, so to say, at home, where the tutor is paid (however little the worker may contribute to his salary) thus eliminating the sense of obligation, the representatives of these two worlds, strangers to one another in thought, if not in the manner of living, may meet in search of some kind of common spirit. That sounds very unexciting—scarcely human, maybe! For does it not seem impossible to renew the circulation of blood in our national life without love, the joy of giving and the humility of receiving, on *both* sides? But we have to reckon with the irrevocable fact that—mostly through the fault of the bourgeoisie—we have lost the confidence of the workers, and on this alone might we have built up that relationship. The weaker may of necessity take hold of the proffered hand, but if we turn to the strongest, those who will shape the future, we must practise renunciation, and begin by giving only what is demanded of us, what they want from us. That is little indeed, and not even the best we have to give; it is expert teaching. They wish us to supply them with our particular knowledge and place our capacities at their disposal as we expect them to do with theirs. *Ed.*

"It seems to me that, if I see aright, without much alteration we might in what I have said insert the word 'Educational Settlement' for *Volkshochschule*. Not that the two are absolutely alike. It is typical for us Germans that we must have a new institute of learning, while here in England numerous diverse educative endeavours grouped themselves gradually round one centre, that centre being more a personality than an institution, which makes the whole appear somewhat casual, but very full of vitality. What impresses me is not the difference between the two, but the discovery that in this particular sphere, though we have had a revolution and you have not, the decisive points in the development with you and with us are along the same lines."*

All educational experience goes to show that atmosphere is a vital element in education. Germany may have reached a stage which in other countries has either been passed or has not come into sight. Even in Germany there would appear to be more of the spirit of neighbourliness in many *Volkshochschulen* than the above quotations suggest. In England as in America it has been found that the great asset of those Settlements which are working along specially educational lines is exactly that "family spirit," to use Dr. Picht's phrase, which distinguishes them. This spirit is not a sentimental one. It arises from the recognition of what education is meant to do for people—a changed point of view no less characteristic of other countries than of Germany.

In Germany "The spirit of the so-called 'free' forms of adult education before the war, which, as the word implies, was entirely in private hands and offered

possibilities of complete liberty of development (without, indeed, any substantial financial or moral support from the State) was much that of the University Extension Movement—an extending of the knowledge of science and art to the people at large. People were convinced that popular *educative* work was being done when as great a number of persons as possible were induced to visit picture galleries, attend concerts, and listen to popular lectures. Neither was the substance of modern civilisation questioned, nor did one trouble much in each separate case about what the public would actually make of what was offered it. Finally, too, the pedagogical and didactic means calculated to enable, or at least to assist, the student to adapt what he was acquiring to his own especial needs were left unexplored. A naïve faith in the innate power of truth, goodness and beauty characterises this intellectualised epoch. . . .

“The new development in adult education is a piece of mental history realised, super-national and super-political. It is a renaissance of vitality that is seeking more direct and personal contact with the treasures of art and science that to us had become lifeless and mute and that so had lost their educative power. We have realised that a surplus of knowledge is not necessarily a gain. We have adopted a critical frame of mind towards culture. We no longer accept it wholly and indiscriminately. Rather, we ask, what is it worth; what is it worth to us—not in a utilitarian sense, but as a furthering of our inner being? . . .

“The people themselves are approaching the things of the mind with a new seriousness. They no longer seek entertainment and the arousing of interest alone. They seek to investigate things that appear to them vital. Men have a desire for the mental exploration of

the essential in life. Conventional respect for everything that one could learn and ought to know, that one wished to acquire because the so-called educated class had acquired it, that we desired just as we might desire a piece of fashionable furniture or the latest bits of gossip, is giving place to the wish to satisfy the spiritual needs of the individual. In the place of those endless programmes of the Humboldt Academies, where one could go to hear single lectures or a whole course by professional popular lecturers on all subjects of study from Esperanto and Cosmetics to Kant, we deal with a few main subjects that we wish to study because we need them in order to be able to find our way about in the inner and the outer world. The fundamental principles of politics, of political economy, of the history of civilisation, of the philosophy of religion—these are the questions that occupy the centre of the stage.

“Nor do we wish instruction in these things in the traditional manner. Even for the mere propagating of knowledge the method of lecturing often undertaken by men of science who lectured over the heads of their audience had long proved itself futile. Now, when the student has made up his mind to investigate the subject for himself, this method can no longer suffice. The distinct difference between adult teaching and teaching of the young is the fact that the adult student has a fund of knowledge and experience of his own, though perhaps not digested and not clearly defined, and added to this he has an attitude of mind, a point of view, the better stabilization of which, or perhaps even the revision of which, he requires.

“Especially in those essential branches mentioned above, he is not trying to satisfy some unimpassioned academic interest; he is struggling for light with the

whole activity of one whose practical work brings him face to face with life. He has no use for a teacher who talks like a book to him from a platform. He wants to feel that his teacher is a man of flesh and blood, of faith and will, a teacher with whom he can take up the battle, man to man. The teacher then is forced to abandon his academic reserve. We find work in common ('*Arbeitsgemeinschaft*') as the centre of the new adult education, the common search for knowledge in a circle of tutor and students. The tutor has become *primus inter pares*; the students are no longer a mere audience, but act with him. As compared with the term 'tutorial class,' in the word '*Arbeitsgemeinschaft*' we do not stress either the school-like word class, or the leadership of the teacher implied in the word tutor. The word expresses solely unity (*Gemeinschaft*) in work, the formation of a community for the common purpose of study."*

Thus we are brought back again, as always in Settlements, to the idea of community. The vital necessity is that Settlements should be perpetually on the look-out for expressions of that idea, in whatever form, since practice of community is in itself educational. Upon this the American Settlements have laid great stress.

"There is a task of humanity which education should help each generation to perform better. It has two aspects. One is the conquest of the material universe—learning to use the forces of Nature so that more and more the earth shall be a home for man; in this direction our generation has made great progress. . . . The other is to attain the power of vision, of seeing things not as they are, but as they ought to be; in that knowledge and in that technique there has not been the

* Dr. Werner Picht.

same advance in recent times. . . . Yet I believe that the desire for greater unity among men, among individuals, among groups, classes, nations, is a reality. It cannot come by fiat or machinery. There are two reasons why many Americans have not followed the suggestions made by President Wilson. One is that preoccupation with individual tasks and enterprises to which men have been trained has not led them to be eager to listen for the directions which would teach them how to co-operate with others. The other is that there are those thoughtful and earnest men and women who have thought that the ideals presented had after all not been thoroughly thought out, that the terms in which they were presented were rather enunciated by eighteenth century democracy. . . . Our educational institutions in America (and I fear that America has no monopoly of this) have sought rather to awaken the mind and develop the capacity of the individual for his own advancement than to give him the power to see a finer life for himself and for the race, have given him technical skill as a workman, as a professional man, rather than the capacity for action, and knowledge of the way in which he could act, with other people. . . . There has not been economic, political, social thinking of anything like the clearness and power and reach of the scientific thinking. . . .

"Now it seems to me that the Settlements have a word to say out of their own experience. From the beginning the Settlement life has been a combination of people from different groups. From the first it was a movement from the universities and churches—those who had benefited, and been limited, by the traditions of culture—to those great numbers who had never had the opportunity. The Settlement is an institution

placed on the borders of two groups. The 'Settlement method' means co-operation of men and women, differently advantaged and disadvantaged, acting for a common social end. While little theory has been developed and method has remained vague and certainly plastic, one thing at least is characteristic: the Settlement life and the Settlement spirit always have to do with persons. It is the most important thing in the world—the attempt to do the kind of work which will develop personalities not bound by class interest. From the beginning here in Toynbee Hall the Settlement work had to do with persons devoted to a common human task. The Settlement Movement primarily means a development of social personality. To this should be added Miss Addams' description of Settlements as 'centres of interpretation.' Different groups have been made better to understand each other's point of view. Now the time has come when perhaps we shall see more clearly the kind of thing which the Settlement is fitted to accomplish, and I would say that primarily it ought to be able to bring about types of co-operation, that Settlement activity is peculiarly an education in and demonstration of the possibilities of co-operative action, and through that the development of the ideals of social personality. . . ."

"There is nothing so characteristic of the American Settlement as the club. While the intellectual side has often been wanting and the higher aims have not been there, the boys and girls, for they have mostly been young people, have learned something of the possibilities of joint action and with the help of a club advisor not infrequently have lived together a fine type of social life. . . ."

* Dr. John Elliott.

" Secondly, there has been the coming together of men and women from the universities, from the advantaged classes, working side by side with men and women who have not had these advantages, and both are benefited. They have carried on health work, and we have been able to place on certain boards people from the tenements, health boards, educational boards, etc. In the work of music, dramatics, and art, there has been a constant co-operation between people bringing to the work different points of view. It is true that very often the Settlement represents the kind of work that is done *for* people, but more and more it is becoming the work which is done *with* people.

" We have developed very much in America what we call the fresh air work, which has frequently developed from philanthropic work for children, with little summer colonies for health and recreation which are largely self-governing and self-supporting. . . .

" The Settlement is more and more becoming a community organiser, but not simply one of the local communities which is likely to be narrow and hard. . . . Its object is to educate the well-to-do classes out of the idea of philanthropy into co-operation, and to educate the people of the tenements out of purely local, racial, national types of co-operation into a kind of joint action far more in touch with the task of reaching across the borders of class, of group, of nation, and founding its work on principles which are more largely human.

" May I speak of one specific experience. A printing school was begun in a Settlement house. The worker from that Settlement went out to the trade union and got it interested in the training of its apprentices. They went to the employers, and although that was only ten

years ago, that school, under joint management by the trade union, an employers' group, and the Settlement house, has become a training school which every apprentice in that branch of industry in New York City attends. It is supported by the union and by the employers, and the direction is still under labour, capital and education. Besides a good technical equipment, the young printer is equipped with the greatest tool of all, the use of language. Economics has recently been introduced and history will follow. We have the employers and the unions joining hands to carry on this work and properly to introduce the young men and women into their craft. Together they have formed the most progressive agreement, I believe, existing in America with regard to the apprentice. For five years he is sure of employment. During that time he is carefully taught ; he is advanced step by step in his industry and has opportunities at all branches of the trade in his shop. Together the union and the employers see that his health is not neglected. There are constant physical examinations. The young worker is almost a son of the industry. This, though only one example, illustrates the function of the Settlement in its attempts."*

It is in accordance with these ideals for the direct work of the Settlement that it should urge upon the schools that they should bend their energies more and more towards developing the social and co-operative spirit. For this a better understanding and more unity of purpose between school and home may be accomplished through parents' and teachers' associations. " Until these two factors in the life of the child concede their interdependence and increase their power by mutual

understanding and co-operation, the environment of the child will lack the harmonious character necessary for the most valuable and lasting results. . . . When children find their parents and their teachers united in a common attempt that is persistent and fine, though still imperfect, the influence born of this effort will by its very nature affect them deeply." The same is true regarding an organisation for co-operation among the teachers of the school. "When pupils are working in the presence of older people who are united and co-operating for fine common ends, it is almost certain that they, too, will learn to unite, and for fine ends. But without the presence of the social spirit among the teachers, ideals and their expression are likely to be neglected." Assigned periods—at least a weekly hour—should be given to the discussion of ethical and social problems, an interpretation and harmonisation of relationships such as the child in the kindergarten has with other children or with teachers, or the relations of older children at home, in the playground, and in the community. "Especially in the high school the range of the mental life lies far beyond the experience of the school life. During the adolescent years the map of life is laid out and should be considered fully and deeply. . . . In addition to the experiences of the child as subject matter for these interpretations we use fairy stories for the little ones, and later, biographies, the great historic patterns of life, and the bibles of the race—rich materials for the ethics teacher." But of course such teaching must be coupled with opportunities for social action, so that children may "recognise their responsibilities and learn the habit of social activity through their duties inside the class-room, their functions in the school, and by some work of value inside the

school." Beginning, maybe, with charitable acts "sincere social service might be encouraged, perhaps expected and required, of every pupil in the school, this activity being as carefully graded year by year as is any other course, to correspond to the developing capacities of the children and young people for service."

And then "we can hardly over-estimate the value of the festivals in which the children take a real, if not a leading, part in actual co-operation with the older members of the community. Here is the opportunity to challenge the imagination and arouse the sentiments on which the common life and the common good of the world must rest." Participation in school government, too, is important, this being in an ascending scale of duties, functions and responsibilities, since social as well as individual character unfolds itself with the years. And finally, "In the curriculum of any school there should be a course in the study of nations—the contributions of the various peoples and more especially the so-called backward peoples. Never will this earth have peace until the strong nations regard the weaker nations as those to whom they must give their best culture, and from whom they must learn whatever those peoples have to give. No league of nations can ever exist on this earth without that spirit. Where the strong nations, no matter what they say, desire to sell their goods and build their railroad, one cannot look for an outcome of peace. Only when the people have become, through mutual understanding, systematically developed, participators in each other's culture, can we have a human culture broad enough to support a lasting peace."*

* Dr. John Elliott.

On the subject of Settlements and Adult Education in its formal aspect America is modest: "I recognise that it is not for an American to say much on British soil about adult education. We are doing all we can to learn what we should do. Eleven of the Settlements in New York City next year will have classes in adult education in addition to their other classes, and we hope to do something in this way for organised as well as unorganised labour and for the educational institutions."* Meantime the American Settlements are making experiments of great value to other countries in the realm of that informal but very real education wherein we discover that "Education has something to do with books and schools, just as religion has with churches and creeds—not too much!"†

During the war-period there was a widespread growth of social idealism and of revolt against the conditions which in all countries typified the old régime. One outcome of this was enthusiasm for education as a means towards the establishment of a new order. Despite the disappointment and disillusionment of the past two or three years, when educational schemes have been abandoned on grounds of "economy," there has been a considerable extension of educational facilities. What we need to concern ourselves with is the question of standards—or, to use a word less suggestive of academic tests, of quality and purpose.

“The character of what we call education ought to depend on the needs of human nature at its best. As things are, it really depends on the mentality of those who, at a given moment, are called the educated. The

* Dr. John Elliott.

† *ibid.*

child, the father of the man, is in the grip of the man, the father of the child."*

"I, for one, look upon instruction as a part of education, which implies that I exclude all technical training. Over a vast area, the inculcation of technical knowledge is not a help but a real and very dangerous hindrance to becoming an educated being. For all, or almost all, technical knowledge dwarfs the human being in the man because it cares for living and not for life, and has a tendency to take the part (what an infinitesimal part!) for the whole. . . . It follows that when we speak of ideals of education we mean a liberal education; that is to say, an education leading to the enjoyment of the best of science, of art, of nature, with no view to any utility whatever. With regard to the things of the spirit this must follow as the day the night, exactly because we want men to become what God meant them to become, that is, unfettered, free, human beings. . . .

"Of course, you say, we agree. But do we act upon this conviction? Has it got hold of us so as to trace our line of conduct for us, to determine our views and our practice? Do we refuse, courageously, to take any measure, to consider any plan of action, which goes against this conviction? Are we all aware of the countless subtle ways in which, all over the world, the human being in the man is made subordinate to the producer—or, shall I say, is crushed, and even killed if need be, on behalf of cash? How we all rejoiced when experimental psychology began to lay stress upon the individual capacity in its choice of a career! For did not this mean that, at last, we were beginning to see that the wealth of a nation lies in the happiness of its

* Miss Knappert.

subjects, and not in the amount of its production? But only the other day the foundation, in connection with Yale University, of an Institute for the application of psychological knowledge in this direction was hailed in terms of cash. Where we ought to have read, 'It is supposed that this institute will save thousands of human lives from wreckage or shrivelling,' we actually did read, 'It is supposed that 60,000 millions of dollars will be economised in this way.' Of course, if both results accrue, so much the better. But if this method is applied merely with an eye to money-making, the thing is vitiated from the outset. . . . Education has no business whatever with the economic value of man; its only object is in the development and cultivation of his spiritual values. The end in view is the happiness of the human being in its double aspect of individual and member of the community. To seek this is indeed what all Settlements want to do, what many have done casually, and some consistently."*

Yet even this ideal may prove an illusion if happiness is confused with pleasure, and pleasure with excitement. "We are responsible for the stupid merry-making, the frivolity, the sports, the endless dances, which have invaded what should be places of education, and we ought to have realised that frivolity is one of the fiercest enemies of joy, capable in the long run of killing not only joy itself, but the capacity for joy. . . . Mechanical work, which means death and not life, is the natural counterpart of the picture-palace, which again is the natural outcome of the factory. Nothing is more natural than the swallowing up by the picture-palace

* Miss Knappert.

of the crowds of adolescents and adults that the mill has vomited two hours before. When the human organisation is turned into a machine for eight hours a day, it has its revenge, of course. But what of those who have the privilege of living work and who yet loathe it, because they have been made to believe that life means pleasure, that regular work and duty and painstaking and responsibility are the enemies of happiness and of a life worth living? It is my conviction that the sort of pleasure procured nowadays, even by Settlements, has no educational value at all, that it is the downright opposite of recreation, and that its name ought to be deterioration. . . . It is a difficult thing to defend the hour from the minute, the day from the hour. But is not this part of the art of living? We have a right to say that all real education involves effort from the side of the educator as well as from the side of the educated, be it child, adolescent or adult. In trying to increase happiness by diminishing effort, we are on the wrong track. . . .

"What I want to emphasise is the fact that there are Settlements in all countries which in their educational work have sacrificed fundamental truths and fundamental realities to the demand of the moment. Instead of counter-balancing, by their gifts, the soul-deadening influence of the big town and the factory, they have unconsciously accepted the standards of enjoyment and of pleasure and of what makes for gratification of all those who looked up to them for something better. What we knew to be embodied souls we often treated as inspired bodies only. The things that make for courage, for concentration, for self-control, for moral efficiency, for character, have often been repressed by frivolous and weak and enervating so-called pleasures. It is well

to remember in this context the words of the German poet :

Für den Sklaven wenn er die Kette bricht
Für die freien Menschens erzittert nicht.

—‘ Tremble for the slave when he shakes off his fetters ;
for the free man never.’ ”*

If social workers begin to lose the earlier glow of enthusiasm, and question the reality of progress, it may be because they have mistaken appearance for reality, failed to acknowledge the aimlessness of education as they saw it, thought loosely or not at all.

“ Thinking of education, and of that only, if the Settlements all over the world had been loyal to their high ideals, we should not be where we are now. They certainly would not have changed human nature, but they would have been instrumental in getting at another valuation of things, in putting the accent on the values that make for the happier and the fuller life. And they would have been nearer their arduous and glorious task of helping young people to help themselves in raising the level of their own lives and of their neighbourhood.

“ I agree with Professor Urwick that it is not for us—even if we could—to dictate the kind of culture which we think most suitable for workers of a different grade. And I think it possible that a newer culture will spring up from among the masses, if they realise what they owe to the past. But I am also sure that educational agencies such as Settlements are responsible to a great extent for the quality of the culture in town and country. We always get what we ask, and if Settlements on the whole had had a deeper trust in the possibilities of human nature, if they had always and consciously made an

* Miss Knappert.

appeal to the higher faculties of man, the way out of the muddle and the mud might be easier to find. Settlements, I am afraid, have not, as far as their educational work is concerned, contributed to the nobler and sounder quality of life as they ought to have and might have done. On the other hand, if Canon Barnett is right, as I believe he is, and if it is only by raising the character of individuals that the masses can be raised, Settlements have done something that is not only and primarily for the satisfaction of the moment. . . .

Is not education, for obvious reasons, considered as a mission nowadays? And do not an ever-increasing number of young folk want their elders to give them in the goodly language of everyday life the best things they are craving for? And is not the ideal of all of us to help people to become what God meant them to be? *

If these ideals are to be grasped and pursued there is obviously within the field of Settlement work itself a great deal of the research, the psychological analysis, and the constructive thought for which Mr. Tawney appealed waiting to be done. In this direction France is already at work. Reference was made in a previous chapter to the special type of Settlement activity developing under the leadership of the Abbé Viollet. This is based upon a very definite theory of education.

"Settlements are intended to bring the middle classes and the working classes into permanent touch with each other. The objects which they have in view are, union between two classes that modern society has separated and too often opposed, and education of the working classes so that they may become responsible for their own rights and duties. The French point of

* Miss Knappert.

view distinguishes between the religious education given by religious orders and the civil education which is the special concern of Settlements. To the religious orders belongs the duty of developing the religious conscience of citizens. Work that claims to group together citizens of all creeds has a different rôle to fulfil. It should aim at teaching everyone to respect the conscience and the religion of the individual, but at the same time with it also lies the duty of searching for those moral conditions which are demanded by all citizens if they are to fulfil their family and social duties under the best possible conditions.

" This involves the development of conscience and of will.

" The basis of conscience is loyalty, loyalty to oneself, loyalty to others, and loyalty to facts. Settlement teachers must begin by helping young people to know themselves, to get down to the bed-rock of their passions so as to judge them. Then we must help young people to be loyal to others, and to overcome their fear of lowering themselves in the opinion of others and the consequent danger of dissimulation, by teaching them to risk being misunderstood rather than mis-state or falsify truth. Men falsify facts and aspire to make these agree with their opinions for selfish reasons, in the spirit of partizanship, or in order to show a semblance of knowledge. Great social evils, which often degenerate into national and international strife, result. It is, therefore, necessary that modern education should teach young people not to judge without knowledge, and to grasp the truth before forming an opinion. . . . Social loyalty is the exception to-day. Quarrels among parties, classes, nations and religions strain the whole social machinery, resulting in a kind of permanent lie

by means of which facts are mangled at the expense of truth. The work of Settlement teachers is to devote themselves to conquering this disloyalty of factions. They will only do so by keeping out of strife, cultivating a spirit of justice for all, and endeavouring to teach everyone to think in a personal and independent way.

“ The education of the young demands a development of the will only equalled by that of conscience. . . . Will is a force of the spiritual being which may make a man a great danger or a great help to his country and his fellow-citizens. We must, therefore, define the aims for which a good citizen should strive, and which the Settlement teacher should emphasise. Once these aims are defined, we should teach young people to govern their physical impressions, their sensibilities and imaginations. We should help them never to be discouraged in the fight, and to use their capabilities according to their physical and intellectual capacity. We should teach them that habit of work without which it is impossible ever to attain the end in view. This can be done by discipline in sport, by wisely distributed responsibility, and by the encouragement of useful work, whether intellectual or manual.

“ Next comes the development of family consciousness. If family life is not closely united those elements which form our social life, the individual and the group, oppose each other without ever becoming reconciled. Faithfulness in love is one of the first principles of education. . . . The Settlement must, then, take part in family education. It must be the centre where the families of the neighbourhood like to meet, and where they can gain that additional knowledge and understanding needed for the fulfilment of their own task. . . .

" The first problem to solve is that of the revelation of the mystery of life. Teachers will have to play an important part in connection with this delicate subject, helping parents in their task by explaining to them how they can and must give the knowledge that young minds demand, and supplementing their deficiencies and their indifference where necessary.

" Settlements must also contribute to the education and development of feeling. The fact that young men and women will meet on numerous occasions will help them in this connection. Sexual instruction must be given separately, but the education of love can be given, and will even gain by being given, to young people of both sexes simultaneously. This education will in the first place consist in developing modesty in the girl and respect for women in the boy. It will inculcate in all the feeling that it is not right to look for love without being ready to accept all the moral and material consequences of love, especially the duty of making a home and the possibility of children. . . . This education can be given by means of talks and suitable reading, but above all by studying the circumstances of the daily life of the young people who are to exercise these qualities, by the rôle of a grown-up person to a child, by devotion to one's work and one's family, by family gatherings, by organised games for boys, and by devotion to the work of puericulture for girls.

• " Heads of Settlements must also prepare young people more fully for marriage by making them understand the ordinary conditions of a happy choice. They must help married people in their educational work, too, for parents are often ignorant of the principles which should govern education. Each Settlement should have a family study circle similar to those which exist

in such numbers in Belgium, and are beginning to be formed in France. These study circles consider, with the collaboration of the parents, the psychology of the child, the development of conscience and will, and any question of an educative nature. . . .

"The Settlement must take a leading place in all legislative and municipal questions dealing with family life—'puericulture,' schools, housing, family allowances, and so forth. These are national interests. To help the family to a real understanding of its rights and duties, the Settlement must encourage the formation of committees for the protection of the family, without confusing their work with that of the Settlement itself, which is concerned with all citizens, whether married or single.

"How should modern social education be defined? It must not be confused either with any so-called sciences that confront people with a number of problems far above their knowledge and understanding, or with political imbroglios designed to use the masses in the interests of party ambitions. The Settlement does not belong to any party. It remains independent, and its educational work will consist in teaching people to think for themselves and to develop the personality of a conscientious citizen. Civic and social education consists in teaching everyone to use *for the common good* those liberties which modern civilisation has given them. The first aim of this education will be to put the social value of work, whether manual or intellectual, into proper perspective, and to teach everyone the value of his personal services to the community. This can be done by conferences of different trades. Everyone should be made to understand that no one has the right to seek personal profit at the cost of the good of the

community ; this applies equally to the workman who demands pay without working honestly during working hours, to the tradesman who cheats, and to the banker who swindles on the Stock Exchange.

" The modern citizen has a share in the government by means of his vote, by the right of petition, and by influencing his representatives in local and national governing bodies. For this there is required a special civic education, concerned with a knowledge of the general interests of a man's own and other professions, and with national interests. The complexity of our social life demands that everyone shall have a knowledge of international affairs. Settlements should help in this social education by maintaining a well-chosen library, and by frequent conferences arranged by unbiased and able men.

" A great weakness in a nation is the uneducated judging of important questions, the putting first of one's own opinion or that of one's profession. The result is endless quarrels and dangerous party splits. The Settlement must indicate the different points of view, and insist on the effacing of one's own in order to consider that of others and the whole range of professional and economic problems. To it belongs the duty of stimulating international friendship, by showing how the legitimate interests of each nation can be reconciled with those of its neighbours."*

Well might any group of Settlements, in face of such ideals, demands, suggestions, experiments and possibilities, hesitate to label themselves specifically " educational." In this connection the danger of priggishness is particularly deadly. But the score or

* l'Abbé Viollet.

so in England affiliated to the Educational Settlements Association have no desire to play the part of superior persons, or to become narrow specialists. "Realising at the same time the value of all types of Settlement work, the sense in which educational is fundamental to them all, and the danger of failing to give education its proper place amidst the multitudinous claims which the social Settlement somehow tries to meet, the pioneers in this form of effort tried the experiment of concentration. They set themselves to deal solely with adult education in every form desired by the neighbourhood and practicable in it. The Settlements were not colonies established from without, but gradually developing clusters of autonomous groups within the neighbourhood. Two or three are residential ; most have no accommodation for any residents beside the Warden. The Common Room is the centre of that social life which is regarded as essential to education. The Students' Councils are taking a growing part in the government of the Settlements, the arrangement of the programmes and the raising of funds. Each Settlement is independent in finance, as in government, and appoints its own Warden and staff. Three Colleges are affiliated to the Educational Settlements Association—Woodbrooke, as a training centre for those who hope to do social and religious work ; Fircroft and Beckenham as residential colleges for working men and women respectively, providing courses of one, two, or three terms in length which are the fullest measure of adult education yet available, and equipping men and women to help forward the work of adult education in their own neighbourhoods when they return to them. The whole of the work is non-vocational, and the basis, while non-sectarian and non-political, is spiritual in the broadest sense.

“ But where is the special necessity for it ?

“ If in England you take the figures of the highly organised educational movements, they indicate wonderful progress. For example, 23,000 students in the Workers' Educational Association ; 50,000 members of Adult Schools ; scores of thousands of regular members of University Extension courses. But there are nearly 7,000,000 members of Trade Unions ! Toynbee Hall has 400 adult students, the Folk House at Bristol 2,000 attendances at lectures and classes each week, Beechcroft Settlement 18,000 attendances in one winter session. But what of the masses of the population amidst which these Settlements are situated ? We are told that ‘ education will appeal to the chosen among the workers, to those who will determine the future of their class.’ But what of the rank and file, the people who follow—or revolt against—these leaders ? . . .

“ It must be our business to find out what is wrong—not only in the case of the working classes, but even more in that of the middle classes—when people choose to go to Margate for their holiday instead of to Switzerland or Normandy, frequent cinemas instead of repertory theatres, read scrappy picture papers instead of magazines and reviews, and are swayed by mob orators instead of forming their own judgments. We may find that the mischief lies with ourselves and not with those whom we condemn, with the way in which we have presented education and not with the way in which they have rejected it or neglected it. If we can gather a nucleus of keen students with a high standard we must develop in them such a community spirit that they will not only seek to bring others into the lectures and classes that mean so much to them, but will welcome into an educational comradeship those whose

taste and expression of their personalities is quite different. . . .

"Consider the realities of the community—the interests that are alive in business, politics, domestic and social life ; the intellect and imagination developed and exercised in the course of people's daily occupations. It has been the fashion to regard the agricultural labourer as a heavy, hopeless kind of clod. But in reality he is by nature of his calling often a better educated man than the artisan working at a mechanical and minutely specialised task—he touches life at more points, he can actually do more things, as the seasons revolve. And we make similar mistakes about factory workers, clerks, teachers and so forth. The material and the possibilities are there. What must be done to bring them into full effect ?

"We have to naturalise the idea of education for working people. They think of it—that academic and formal thing which alone they suppose to be normal—as a fad, or a bore, unnecessary for ordinary enjoyment and success in life. We have equally to humanise the idea for the student, who needs to be reminded that Plato did not know quite everything, and Aristotle could paint an absurd picture of a gentleman. Then we have to bring the two together and to relate the whole to the joy and business of life. That is why the Common Room is so vital. That, too, is the reason why a Settlement building, however modest, should be the incarnation of taste and simple beauty.

"For this we have great human resources—in the University extra-mural departments, the Local Education Authority on the one hand, and the voluntary associations on the other, in the students as much as in the tutors. We should be exploring the great field of

democracy in education, which means that pupils and teachers participate in the choice not only of subject and method, but even of the kind of education to be pursued. We have a chance of trying to exemplify also that great unity in the whole scheme, from nursery school to adult education, foreshadowed by Mr. Fisher in the English Education Act of 1918. It is our business to maintain the university standard of loyalty to truth and at the same time the community sense of reality and humanism. . . .

"Experiment is one of our tasks. It lies with us not only to find new opportunities and to discover new methods in the great towns, but to see, as the Letchworth Settlement is doing so successfully, how the latent eagerness and capacity of small, remote villages may be stirred. And from our experience and research may come a contribution to the science and art of adult education. . . .

"The spirit of it all is summed up by the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction in its Final Report of 1919, where the twin motives of the typical adult student are declared to be enhancement of personality and the service of society. This demands the recognition of spiritual aims and standards. It issues in unity of purpose with infinite diversity of effort. It means that we are seeking together to open new springs of life in the spirit of fellowship and service."*

There is, of course, always the danger of becoming visionary and unreal. Mr. H. J. Laski put his finger upon a weak spot when he said that he found in too many Settlements a great deal of vague enthusiasm, an enormous amount of rather sentimental idealism,

* Mr. Basil Yeaxlee.

and an immense lack of definiteness. Perhaps he put the case too strongly when, urging the maintenance of a high educational standard with the university as the centre of all the educational work attempted, and warning us against playing too much with the idea of reaching everyone in the community by means of "recreational education," he said that we cannot hope to influence more than a fragment of a fragment in a democracy of twenty-two million people. But he was right in his insistence that it is what we do with that fragment that is supremely important. Our first task is to provide for those who are the natural leaders of their fellows ; and the influence of one personality upon another is the greatest factor in all education. Mr. Laski came near the heart of all Settlement work in expressing his conviction that "Great personalities like Gladstone, Disraeli and Lincoln educated people by the mere fact of their existence."

CHAPTER VII

SETTLEMENTS AND THE USE OF LEISURE

THAT character is formed to a much greater extent on the playing-field than in the class-room has long been an overworked maxim of the English Public School. The point, of course, is that the old system of teaching did little or nothing to evoke the initiative and the social spirit inseparable from team-games, though now the new ideals and methods of education make these almost their main objectives. Settlements in all countries may claim to have been the pioneers in applying this principle of "the power of play" to the lives of primary school children, and in emphasising the value of leisure in those of manual and clerical workers. But the battle is not won because leisure is now so much more widespread among all ages and classes of the population. The protests that we constantly hear against dissipation, frivolity and love of pleasure at the present time, do not spring from a jaundiced and make-believe puritanism, but from a real concern for the health and sanity of the community. They point to a continuance of this service, so characteristic of Settlements, on a far larger scale and as a result of much more careful thought and definite effort.

"An endeavour has recently been made to put libraries on board ships for men of all ratings. At a recent conference at Cambridge the representatives of the Shipowners' and the Seamen's Union met to take stock

of this experiment, and to discuss its further development. An old captain of the Blue Funnel Line said : 'The first voyage I had with a library was the first voyage I ever had with no one on the black list.' That is typical of the way Puritanism nowadays is working in the world. Hitherto it has been afraid of freedom and of sense. Hence its limited sympathies, its distrust of human nature, and the narrowness of its horizons. Now it is beginning to learn the lesson of the Incarnation—things eternal realised through things temporal, the human body as an 'instrument of deity,' the expulsive power of affection for whatsoever things are wholesome, true and beautiful. Modern society has paid heavily for the divorce between Puritanism and pleasure. Our pleasures are frivolous. We don't enjoy them. That is because they are passive, and the springs of joy lie in activity. Bergson is right when he says : 'Nature has set up a sign which surprises us every time our creative activity is in full action ; that sign is joy.' To sit in a crowded music-hall and be tickled ; to stand on a holiday afternoon and watch other men play ; to tear through the country sitting on the top of a perpetual gas explosion—these things may kill time, but they kill joy too.

"Again, our pleasures have been commercialised, so much so that we measure our pleasures in terms of money. 'Where are you going?' 'Blackpool.' 'How long?' 'Thirty bob!' Our joys have been catered for on the lower plane, also. Beer and betting have built up great vested interests which possess the field. Mr. Snowden estimates the capital of the drink trade in this country at £1,000,000,000. At least 20,000 book-makers, male and female, ply their trade among us. That is what confronts us directly we make

an effort for better things. Yet this effort must be made. The newspaper placards are booming the idea of 'a brighter London.' We cannot get a brighter London out of a champagne bottle, or from organised flutters on the races. These are definite evils, and they cannot be combated by any policy that is purely negative. 'Don't' is not an inspiring motto, and even if, by a policy of 'don'ts,' we could successfully eliminate undesirable joys, the utmost we could produce by that means would be calm. Even Matthew Arnold says: 'Calm is not what youth desires.' The lower can be expelled only by the higher, the joy which is dull by the joy which is joyous.

"We shall never get our pleasure right till we get our work right, every man finding in his work the craftsman's joy. But if you are going to wait for joy in leisure till you have secured for your clerk or manual labourer the same joy in his daily task as an artist or a doctor may feel, you postpone joy in life for a period that I can only describe as geological. God's world is full of joy. If we do not experience it, the fault is in ourselves, not in the world. Browning says :

There is a world of capability
For joy spread round us, meant for us,
Inviting us.

"The key to that joy is, in the long run, education, and the primary function of education is to open the eye of wonder and of curiosity. Its business is to turn out Oliver Twists not only asking for more, but with the power to obtain more. And this is a matter of unspeakable moral importance, for it is not in his work-time that the youth or young man goes wrong.

"Far more important for the well-being of people

than vocational instruction is education for joyous leisure. The application of fellowship to instruction makes instruction into education. What most of us need is a vocation for our leisure. That is where the Settlement comes in ; it is an institution for education through fellowship, where soul grows in contact with soul. Its amateur dramatics, its co-operative holidays, its musical societies, its rambles—all the activities in which we share each other's lives, are experiments towards the finding of the more excellent way, 'the discovery of the high that will expel the low.'*

Lord Haldane is fond of reiterating the saying that we are more than we take ourselves to be. It is certain that we often build better than we know and destroy where we should never dream of deliberately doing harm. While, therefore, Settlements, like other educational and recreational movements, seek to make purposive for ideal ends the natural tendencies of ordinary people to play, it is possible to trace throughout long periods of history the influence, good or bad, of national sports upon the countries that have cultivated them. This Mr. George Bellamy has done in a particularly interesting paper, too long to quote at adequate length.

He points out that though many biologists are beginning to believe that man has reached the end of his physical evolution, and some psychologists say that in intellectual capacity (not, of course, in knowledge) his limits have been attained, all agree that he is still in the early stages of social evolution. Society has made much progress and may perhaps be said to have passed through the stages of developing self-consciousness and self-control characteristic of the baby and the child

* Mr. J. Lewis Paton.

respectively, so that it is now at the adolescent period where the group instinct emerges, and for the last four thousand years humanity has been struggling towards a right development and use of this. Hence has come the desire and the effort to build cities, yet here disaster has been met in generation after generation, as "whenever men have come together in a group to build a city, their mental, moral and physical vigour has deteriorated. One civilisation after another has arisen, flourished, decayed and fallen before the wilder but more powerful life of new peoples from the hills, the valleys, or the great plains. At present we are all engaged in making the great experiment once again.

"Our historians have given us an account of kings and wars. It is to our sociologists that we turn to find contributions which help to determine the reasons for the degeneration of races. We are just beginning to realise that play and recreation have proved very influential in shaping men's destiny. There are two fundamental laws which have found repeated demonstration with each attempt of man to build a city. They are plainly written in the past and are in full operation to-day. The first is that any individual, any nation, any race, that has wasted its leisure time has sunk into degeneration and decay. The second is that every individual, every nation, and every race that has used well its leisure time has, during such wise use, risen to power and influence, and has contributed elements of value to posterity. . . . It is in leisure that society develops her spiritual qualities, such as honesty, truth, courage, patriotism, together with those interests, tastes, habits, discipline of mind and body, self-mastery and physical vitality on the sure foundation of which it is

possible for society to endure, and the absence of which is certain death,"*

In Germany during the last century physical training was developed through the *Turnverein* societies, which permeated the whole country and produced exactness, precision, regularity of motion, correctness in detail, mass organisation, and so forth, qualities that worked their way into industry, business, and social life. For four hundred years France has made fencing her premier sport, and from this has sprung gracefulness in gesture, quickness of movement, alertness, care for personal appearance—in a word, taste and style; but the emphasis has been on *personal* skill and not upon the group. For a similar length of time bull-fighting has been the national sport of Spain, but it inevitably tends to create cruelty, brutality, blood-thirstiness, vengefulness and treachery. Ski-ing in Scandinavian countries goes back to prehistoric times, and, with coasting, skating, mountain-climbing and jumping, has fostered self-confidence, bravery, muscular control, physical courage and endurance. The Anglo-Saxon peoples are distinguished for their devotion to team-games: cricket probably has a history in England covering a thousand years. In all individualistic games the tendency is for a man to seek personal pre-eminence at the cost of all other players and to seek any advantage yielded by the weakness, rashness, hesitancy or unskilful act of his opponent. But in team-play each must play for his side, and subordinate himself—the germinal idea of patriotism and of group life—and this draws out the good qualities developed in warfare without the bad, mutual respect between victor and vanquished and a

* Mr. George Bellamy.

spirit of generosity. America has cultivated team-games with a similar result. The international outcome may be seen in the relations between Great Britain and South Africa, or between the United States and Cuba or the Phillipines.

"The burden-bearing nations are to-day the strongest nations on earth, just as the burden-bearing individual is the strongest personality in his community. The moral law of neighbourship and co-operation is the only foundation upon which the future state of society and nations can exist. As never before, the group instinct is seeking expression, and the societies and individuals that have developed this instinct through team-games are the leaders in this upward reach of evolution."*

Among recent changes in social life the increase of leisure, owing to the greater use of machinery, the improvement of industrial conditions, and the extension of education is one of the most marked. "The modern city has resolved the problems of society into three—work, living conditions, and recreation. Man must have freedom, health, and a just wage. But it is in the use of his freedom that the final word will be spoken. Here will be developed the spiritual and moral forces of the individual and the community. . . .

"Unfortunately the School and the Church and the State of the last generation did not realise the importance of play and recreation in character-building. More costly than this negative attitude was the hostile position taken by the Church to many useful, necessary activities in recreation, thus giving the devil the monopoly of many good things. When the city was in its early stages of

* Mr. George Bellamy.

development it was pliable, and many traditions could have been established, giving enormous impetus to the well-being of future generations. Parks and playgrounds could have been established in every community at little cost, where now it requires the expenditure of almost prohibitive sums in order to repair the damage done by this neglect."*

The hunger for amusement and recreation so manifest to-day is the expression of an instinct. An instinct is neither good nor bad in itself, but becomes either good or bad in response to environment and training. Thus the group-instinct expresses itself in one of two ways, as a gang, which is bad, or as a team or group, which is good. "Congestion and freedom from control in the city tends to develop the gang; the slum and the city street do not permit the normal play of the child; it is impossible for parents to observe and control conduct. . . . Lack of proper stimulus in the city drives the gang to lawlessness, idleness, laziness, and to closer forms of organisation endeavouring to combat the restrictions placed upon it by public authority. . . . Lack of physical activity drives the gang to idleness and games of chance in barns, shed or alleys. Absence of parental control or good leadership places this responsibility upon the bully of the gang. With this machinery set up, the gang plots petty thefts, plays jokes on unpopular neighbours, raids other neighbourhoods, fights other gangs. It develops surprising ingenuity and ability in circumventing the law, builds up a solidarity and loyalty of its own, and gradually develops a code of morals for self-protection which runs contrary to the community's well-being just as the community's

* Mr. George Bellamy.

code has run contrary to the gang's well-being. Here then is the group instinct gone wrong, and developing with fatal precision the product of the gang, the saloon lounge, the tramp, the skilled thief, and the petty ward politician. The habits, tastes, characteristics, interests, and moral standards of the gang have all shown themselves when these boys have grown to manhood. That is why the recreation of the adult begins with the child. If you expect a well-developed city gang, emerging into citizenship, suddenly to become interested in good government, civic ideals, clean politics, and social well-being, you expect what never has happened and never can happen. The standards and ideals of the gang will persist, and as the members of the gang enter politics, labour, business—sometimes even the Church—their ideals will be woven into the fabric of society. . . . Just as a national sport in the course of a century determines fixed qualities of mind in a race, so will the play of youth develop qualities in the individual which control society. . . .”

“It takes a decade to develop a saloon-lounge, not a day. America has abolished the saloon, but not the saloon-lounge. That can be done only by stimulating proper habits in youth and providing a substitute for the saloon for adults. The saloon was the Poor Man's Club, and has delivered to the community its full quota of ideals. It has been a terrible liability, undermining spiritual and mental strength.”*

“The Club furnishes the opportunity for the group-instinct fully and freely to express itself. It is an organisation of a few individuals with a purpose, having

* Mr. George Bellamy.

a full set of officers, and carrying through its business in an orderly way. There is respect for the decisions of the majority—no bullying or browbeating or harassing of one person. Its discussions, research, debates, constructive programmes, trips to libraries, museums, factories and parks, its athletics, dramatics and entertainments are all under the influence of good leadership through strong personality, precluding domination by a tyrant as instanced in the gang, where the spirit is that of insult, falsehood, and revenge.”

“ When clubs stimulate freedom of action and creative programmes with understanding leadership, and are organised in every church, school and proper community centre, then there will be made a long stride towards building the permanent city. Therein lies the germ of progress. If the city is to succeed such clubs must play their part in the schooling of youth. . . .

“ Society has little realised the extent of the social revolution in the city before the war. It was carried on in the night, during the leisure time of the people. There were no explosions, no shot and shell breaking the silence and brightening the darkness. This revolution was a world-phenomenon reaching into all fields of human endeavour. There were class upheavals—Labour and Capital fighting in death-grips ; there was race antagonism, warfare between the sexes, women struggling for rights of which they had long been deprived ; divorces increased alarmingly ; family life was breaking down ; children did not understand parents ; parents did not understand children. In recreation, youth had given itself up to wild abandonment ; music was not harmony, but jazz ; the dance lost its beauty and took on the quick, jerky motions that were often ugly, ungraceful, and even sensuous ; the drama lost much of

its feeling ; art sought the flashy and the blunt. The symptoms of disease were the same everywhere. . . .

" The war brought a great moral passion—a wave of patriotism. All the warring nations found a new spirit. In America a passion of patriotism, moral courage and generosity of service surged through the nation. State action paralysed the organised forces of vice and corruption in the cities near the camps. Men and women of moral force took heart and threw themselves into the great world-battle. Everywhere the soldiers went wholesome opportunities of recreation were furnished to fill their leisure time. In the dance, in music, in art, in the drama, the old harmony and feeling were recalled. . . . It is true that because of the recreation furnished to the American soldiers many thousands returned home the better, not the worse, for their play. Can we continue on this line of progress ?

" It is largely in the use of leisure that the cities will decide their fate. There are two paths ahead, one taken by the gang, the other by the club. If the group-instinct can be stimulated in society through the expression of it in teams, clubs and wholesome games and play, there is no question of the future. The forces that must control the method of organisation of the city are found within the club. Here we find the spirit of loyalty, justice, arbitration—the best type of education."*

Settlement workers in France are giving close attention to the distinction between work in rural areas and that needed for country districts.

" In the towns, and especially in industrial districts, the population is dense, housing accommodation is inadequate, especially since the war, while the great

* Mr. George Bellamy.

influx from our own devastated regions has increased the scarcity. Large families are crowded into one or two small rooms, not always because they cannot afford better, but because nothing better can be found. Taverns are numerous and leisure hours long, since the eight-hour day has been adopted everywhere. Therefore the Settlement is more indispensable in such districts than elsewhere. Its function is the most important one of trying to make up for what is lacking in happiness and comfort for all.*

"It is important that our Centres be kept complete in their activities, and that they be developed harmoniously. By the complete Settlement I mean one that reaches every member of the family, awakening in them a sense of their unity, and giving them well-balanced development. The most essential points are physical, intellectual, artistic and moral and social development. . . .

"The development of physical culture is growing rapidly in France. Numerous organisations have been started here for this purpose. A great opportunity is offered to the Settlement if it has athletic fields and playgrounds attached to it and under its control. . . . Sports have a very important place in the Settlements because of the desirable qualities which games bring into play. We believe not only in the physical benefits gained, but in the good from the moral point of view which results from a discipline that develops good comradeship, standards of honour, and strength of character in the individual. . . .

"French working-class families have developed markedly the ambition for intellectual improvement,

* Mlle. Bassot.

and the desire for a better education for their children, and the law Astier of 1919 co-ordinates all schools and educational institutions and brings them under State control. It has stimulated community activity along practical educational lines. Many vocational classes have been started in the suburbs of Paris among the working classes. These are largely attended, and University students (engineers, artists, and so forth) help with the teaching. Here the Settlement has a special opportunity; it is the obvious place for such work, since the Settlement workers know better than any others the economic as well as the social needs of the community and the aspirations of the people. . . .

“The teaching of domestic science, practical hygiene and child welfare, as well as of all the other things which affect the general welfare of life, can be handled more effectively by the Settlement than by any other group. As to the teaching of artistic subjects, this appears to us a most vital function. Our French population is especially responsive to works of art. If the influence of art is not shown in their daily lives it is because of lack of proper guidance. . . . The Settlement, which is in the least fortunate quarter of the community, should be the connecting link with the arts. We must use much care in our choice, offer nothing but the truly beautiful, and make no concession to vulgarity. Our people are surrounded by masterpieces of art, and by the glory of a lovely country-side. They are so accustomed to living amidst this beauty that they do not always consciously appreciate it. Our aim is to awaken and develop appreciation of these treasures, but our efforts must not be confined to developing the receptibility of our people. We want them to take an active part and to develop their own gifts. . . . Lectures

and discussions, musical evenings, moving pictures, group visits to museums and interesting parts of the country under good guidance, elocution societies and dramatic societies have all been found useful. . . . Choral music must be given an important place on the programme because it is for everyone not only a spring of fine emotion, but a school of discipline as well. It develops a social consciousness, and effacement of oneself for the benefit of the whole.

"Moving pictures have inevitably a great power of attraction, therefore the Settlements must place this form of recreation in its programme, providing not only instructive films, but also those of a dramatic or amusing character which touch the imagination of the people without flattering the lower instincts, and bring people gradually to a higher level of appreciation. Libraries, too, are of great importance, but they lose a great part of their value when, as often is the case with a Public Library, there is not sufficient care in selecting the books and no effective guidance is given to readers. . . .

"As to moral and social development through the use of leisure, the Club is indispensable. The Settlement without a club would be a little like a body without a soul. Clubs are limited gatherings which can be multiplied indefinitely, and which unite different sorts of people of the same age and the same tendencies through the desire for friendship and enrichment of life. They are indispensable for proper grouping, for preparation of various activities, and for unifying the work and the spirit of the Settlement. Though primarily they were organised only for recreation, they must include a programme of studies which aims not merely to give instruction but also to be the means of moral and social constructive development. . . .



MLLE. BASSOT.

Secrétaire Générale, La Résidence Sociale : Levallois, Paris.
A Leader in the French Settlements Movement.

"General culture courses reach the greatest number of people and prevent all excessive specialisation ; they help to develop the whole man. . . .

"In the instruction given too rapidly to the children of the public schools there is an excessive amount of superficial technical teaching which prevents the proper development of the child's personality and initiative. The Settlements' general culture courses can in a measure supply what we think has been deficient in the school training, in addition to supplying continuation courses for those who have been obliged to leave school at too early an age.

"Clubs for young people between fourteen and sixteen years of age must awaken and stimulate a desire for better things by means of very simple talks, reading with illuminating comments, and opportunities of free expression on the part of the members.

"Study clubs for young people tend, when properly conducted, to develop character, intelligence, initiative, devotedness and generosity. Each club leader must discover which method best fits his group and awakens its response. Guided and directed talks should be the chief characteristic of study clubs. Above all, each member of the club should be induced to make a personal effort towards the discovery and development of his own talents. The leader should be generous in imparting ideas and equally so in receiving those of the members. Subjects should give a sense of reality, and those which specially concern the groups must be chosen, i.e., the study of Labour Laws, Trade Unions, and rights and duties of Citizenship, questions interesting the family as a whole, the training of children and so forth. The study clubs will develop initiative and generosity by contributing to the working force of the other clubs.

providing them with officers, organising talks for the younger groups, arranging social gatherings and outings, and in other ways increasing that spirit of leadership which should be one of the finest traditions of a club. Such clubs will be for young people a real apprenticeship to a happy family and social life.

“Educational clubs for adults are more difficult to establish, but adults can be reached in other ways. The great domain where human beings meet and understand each other is that of the home and the family. The strongest of our human emotions centres in children. A family council board can be formed which may grow little by little, and lead to the study of the interests which the members have in common, and participate in the responsibilities of the social centre, making this the house of the whole community. . . .

“The conditions in the rural areas are not only different from those in urban but also among themselves. In some places social activity, gatherings for sports and gymnastics, choral and theatrical performances are flourishing; rather than a social centre, there are needed circulating libraries, lecturing tours, educational moving pictures, and periodical musical and theatrical performances for both children and adults.

“In other rural regions, social centres have become an urgent necessity, because of the growing exodus of country people towards the city. This is an economic danger in France. Motives for this exodus are many, the principal one being lack of diversion in country lives, as well as exalted ideas of what city life offers, rather than any thought of economic advantages. . . . Peasants who formerly used to gather around the castle or the church gave their work, and received in return help and support. They met in the same faith. The

different trades had their traditions and their festivals, and they united in defence of their common interests. To-day, security of life and property, together with spiritual divergence, have ruined the spirit of association. Small groups develop, thinking only of their particular aims and losing sight of great ideas. They are at war with one another. The individual is isolated. He has no opportunity for self-development through reading or by the exchange of ideas.

"The social centre of the country is a necessity for the regeneration of community life on a wider basis with new aspirations. It must revive all that in past centuries gave charm, richness and breadth to rural life. The study of local history, legends and old customs, the dramatic reconstruction of well-known historic events, and so forth, prove effective means of bringing this about. At the same time agricultural contests, and the passage of the seasons, offer excellent opportunities for organising festivals in which both children and grown-ups take an active part. Indeed, all that has been said of the use of leisure hours in the city Settlements can be applied to those of the country if the note of tradition and adaptation to rural life is preserved."*

Though Settlements in general, and clubs in particular, have much in common all the world over, it would be a mistake to assume that the same methods of work are applicable in all countries. Reference has already been made in an earlier chapter to the place of Club work in the Dutch Settlements. Dr. W. E. van Wyck, in describing the activities of the *Institut Voor de Rijpere Jeugd te Rotterdam* (Institute for Adolescence),

* Mlle. Bassot.

draws attention to the futility of a method which would gather a number of boys and girls, make them sit quite still, and preach to them. He also points out another mistake in work among boys, viz., that often the leader believes that he is to do the work. "It is the boys who have to do the work, and the leader is there to guide them into the paths which tend to a life of more depth, more joy and more self-respect. It is not ourselves whom we wish to be admired by the boys, but it is everything good and beautiful. The special characteristic of club work for boys in Holland springs from the fact that the Dutch boy likes to be led by a friend, but shuts his heart against every attempt at regimentation. Everything which tastes of militarism is heartily despised. It would even be impossible to run a company of the Boys' Brigade. There remains only one solid basis on which to build a work among boys, and on this basis I believe that every nationality might build. Our basis is a most sincere trust in the boys and a strong belief that the trust will be unshaken by whatever might arise."*

The Club of which Dr. van Wyck speaks is open every night from 6 to 9.30 to every boy who is at least fourteen years of age. There is absolutely no restriction as to admission; no name is asked; there is no ticket to be shown. The average attendance is about 150 boys each night.

"It might sound strange that the entrance to the recreation room, the real club hall, leads through the reading room, a place where above all others quietness is expected; but we do not do this without a purpose. Reading may lead to the development of higher faculties

* Dr. W. E. Van Wyck.

of mind and brain, but we never press a boy to read ; we only help him to a book that he might like if we have noticed that he has not been able to choose for himself. . . .

"As to the Club room itself, what do the boys do there? This is perhaps one of the most difficult questions to answer in detail. What do you do with the evenings that you spend in the midst of your family? They have chess, draughts and some other games, they have corners with nice seats ; in a word, they spend their evenings in decent surroundings. . . . These two rooms, the reading room and recreation room, are the heart of our work ; from these we draw the boys for all sorts of club work and educational classes.

"The activities of the club cover carpenter's shop, handicraft room, reading circles, debates and a musical hour on Sunday evenings. Much emphasis, however, is laid upon small classes. Many of you will have felt what has been my experience too, that recreational work leads to a dead end. The boys outgrow the work. Certainly it will give them something for their later life, but the work has not made the same progress as the boys, who have grown from childhood to manhood. This is the reason why we try to connect the continuation classes with our club work. We have assured ourselves of the co-operation of a number of most devoted teachers, who have each a Club of about twenty boys to whom they give further instruction in whatever manner they think best. What we are doing in this way has proved a real success. We hope later to see some of our boys going to institutions for higher instruction, and reaching a higher standard of life than they would have reached without our endeavours."*

* Dr. W. E. Van Wyck.

The place of music in both recreation and education has become much more fully recognised during recent years. There is probably hardly any Settlement in which music is not used in some degree as a medium of fellowship and self-expression among the members. Already in this chapter it has been touched upon again and again. American Settlements have developed this aspect of provision for the use of leisure to a very remarkable extent. A number of Music Schools have now been established in the United States with a very definite ideal. "It is the belief that in every human being there is the response to rhythm and beauty, and that through the powerful medium of music this is allowed to develop and mature and so indeed re-create.

"The Music School Settlement or neighbourhood music school deals mainly with the young people of the poorer section of our large cities, those whom the commercial professional schools do not reach in any way. The object of such a school is to present an opportunity for serious musical study, and at such a moderate price that it makes it possible for those who could not otherwise afford it. . . . The School does not offer these opportunities as a charity. At the average School, the students pay from a quarter to a third of the budget, thus making it more self-supporting than most State Universities. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that this whole movement is primarily not one of philanthropy; it is distinctly educational. . . .

"Plato, in his *Republic*, demands that all education should begin with Music, and we, at this later day, are answering by saying that the child ideally reared must at the earliest possible moment have musical and rhythmic training. . . .

"In the average music school as many as eight

nationalities will be enrolled. This in itself is the finest sort of background for interesting, constructive group work.

“ Lessons are given in all the important branches, such as piano, violin, 'cello and voice. In the theory department great emphasis is laid on original work. Orchestral, choral and rhythmic dancing groups are developed. By means of passes and tickets sent to the school the student is enabled to hear fine concerts and opera. Student concerts are frequently held, and these are usually informal, thus establishing an intimate friendly atmosphere. Parent and Student Associations exist in many of the schools. Through the former the school is able to keep in touch with the parents. The nature of the work is explained to them ; they are told what the school is trying to accomplish ; and this enables them to give a sympathetic understanding to the student in the home.

“ The students take the work seriously, and a lesson which in many cases is their one luxury often comes to be a glimpse into the world of imagination and beauty, which would otherwise be closed to them. The attitude of the parents and their eagerness for the child to have what the school offers is often almost pitiable. . . . The schools are selecting their teachers with great care. Few volunteers are used, the general feeling being that they are not pedagogically so well equipped. For, aside from all musical and technical instruction, which must be given and given extremely well, there is a much deeper significance in this use of music. . . . Music as given in these schools makes finer men and women, better citizens, more intelligent and eager audiences, because it is seriously used as a stimulating and enriching power through the cultivation of which one may enter

into the world of beauty and achievement. With this viewpoint continually emphasised, those who may by chance go out into the professional world will surely carry with them a message clear-cut and ennobling in its expression. No ordinary conservatory of music can take the place of the fine, intimate, helpful work done in these schools. . . .

"The first Music School was started at Hull House in 1892. The work is now being carried on in about nineteen States, where there are about seventy-five schools situated in some twenty-three different cities. The majority of these are a department of some other organisation such as a Settlement, a Y.M.C.A., or a Y.M.H.A. Of these seventy-five, eight are separately incorporated schools of music, and four, though separate departments of other Settlements, have grown so large that they have been forced to have their separate buildings and are practically independent. . . . These twelve schools combined have an enrolment of about 3,800 students and 330 teachers.

"As these twelve main schools, doing a specialised musical work, have grown, it has been only natural that those smaller ones which were still departments should come to them for advice and suggestions. The result of this has been that in cities where several schools exist it has been the natural tendency to form a central Association or Federation, as in New York, Boston and Philadelphia.

"That in New York is a separate organisation, and is not a sub-committee of the Settlements group. It was felt that this was the best arrangement in this particular city, as so many other organisations besides Settlements were starting music departments, and the desire is to include them all. . . . There are three separately

incorporated schools of music, and four departments of Settlements which have carried on the work on such a large scale that they are also schools of music, the only difference being that at present they are associated with the main Settlement organisation. . . .

"The central association in Boston is organised as an Inter-Settlement Music Committee of the Boston Social Union, which is the city federation of Settlements. . . . The Philadelphia Association is also a Music Committee of the Settlement Group, and includes eleven houses.

"It has universally seemed best to start a school through, or in connection with, some social organisation such as a Settlement. In this way the connection with the families can more readily be established and local interests and tendencies may more easily be studied. In some cases in smaller towns the public school buildings are being used. This may be a wise plan if it seems impossible to finance a building of one's own. The main point in its favour is that it is a splendid way of securing the general interest of the public Authorities and of the community. The disadvantages are that the instruments are usually poor and it is practically impossible to get any artistic atmosphere, which, after all, is of fundamental importance in the work. . . .

"The question of buildings has always been one difficult to solve. Starting, as many of the schools do, in a Settlement, the pianos are nearly always poor and the surroundings noisy. The only way in that case is to have the entire building given over on certain days each week to the musical activities. Even this is unsatisfactory, and one of the first things a Settlement Board should realise is that, if the right sort of work is to be done, reasonably quiet, adequate surroundings are essential. . . .

" Most of our schools have a Music Library, which is of great assistance to the students. . . .

" Frequently teachers of the highest rank, instead of taking a few talented students for nothing in their own studios (as they frequently do), will, if they become interested, take a few at a school instead. Occasionally for less advanced pupils it is possible to use certain older students. It is essential, however, that if this is done they should be selected with the greatest care. . . .

" The various Student Associations do a great deal. Sometimes they look after the business part of the Student Concerts. They often find various ways of raising money to help. In general, they keep the tone of the school one of intimacy and healthiness. . . .

" The school of which I have been a director for eight years is incorporated under the State educational law, and is, so far as I know, the only school of this type in the country to do this. The great advantage is that, apart from standing, it also enables the school to grant certificates and diplomas.

" We hear much in these days of community music and 'music for all' has come to be a familiar slogan. But it is not enough merely to listen to music. If we are really interested in the musical future of our cities we must go deeper than that. We must be sure that every human being capable of artistic expression in any musically creative way shall be guaranteed the opportunity for conscientious, exacting musical study, under teachers of inspiration and ability. It is only in thus living intimately with it that the mystery and potency of music makes itself known."*

* Paper forwarded by Mrs. Schenck.

How to bring Music into the everyday life of the ordinary Settlement is a problem constantly present to many Settlement workers. In recent years what may be called community music or mass music has been much developed in England by the efforts of Professor Walford Davies, Mr. Percy Scholes, Major J. T. Bavin, and others. To a striking simplicity of method they have united a profound knowledge of their subject and a supreme belief in the musical possibilities of ordinary people.

"Music is one half of a world of sound which most people enter unaware. Have you thought of music as a mere pastime? Think more deeply. Music is something that is done for love. Other things are necessary. This can be dispensed with. But everything done for love is a measure of man's mind. There is a joy that is sensational, a joy that is emotional, a joy that is intellectual, and there are joys that are intuitional, full of outreaching, heavenly things. With a bun you may experience one, in a chat two or three, but through music you experience three or four. A Settlement is a place where whole joys are dropped into life. Such joys are rare, but they exist in the world of sound. . . .

"True enjoyment of music is not passive. Most people in church just amble through a hymn till they begin to work—spirit, soul and body—in a corporate effort. Directly a boy begins to know a joy that it costs him a great deal to pursue with regulated effort he is happy, as he cannot be in merely jumping about a play ground. Music does exercise the whole boy or man in a detached way—so detached that people do not realise it. Music is recreative, exacting. There is no other correlation between yourself and your neighbour comparable with it. This is not dependent upon mere time and place. The great minds of Europe are made intelligible to the

minds of Whitechapel. Melody is history that you can recreate at any moment. You sing

There was a lover and his lass
and up goes your heart with Shakespeare's heart and
with old Morley's. . . .

"Settlements ought to have at least a weekly music meeting. Get going at once! 'But I haven't the ghost of an element of a concert available.' You will have, if you get some of the new gramophone records specially prepared for the purpose of teaching simple music, and get together a small chorus of a few keen people. Just get hold of some one who can energise others, not superimposing anything upon them, but rousing energy by the infection of his own. You can't be so hard up as not to be able to find someone who can start a song and keep it going, or to purchase a few copies of the *National Song Book*,* through which your groups can romp if you have a leader. Probably your leader is in your midst already, but is not recognised, because he is a boy with dirty hands. Get your energiser. That is your job—to discover him and give him his chance. . . .

"It is easy enough in any Settlement to arrange a thirty or forty minute weekly concert, with three or four chorus songs at the beginning and end, and a little study of Bach with someone to talk about the biographical points of interest. There you have the beginning of a classical concert. . . .

"In music it is as though there were a great panorama passing before you, but you look at it through a chink—the chink of time. Observation by the ear is totally different from that by the eye. Music suffers from the perennial handicap that you never see the whole picture

* Messrs. Boosey & Co. 1s. net.

at once. It becomes possible to have that picture before your mind in its completeness only when you have heard any given composition for the *n*th time. The gramophone alone ensures you that opportunity, and the gramophone has a great part to play in the interpretation of music to the people, when you can at any moment have Kreisler to play Bach to you or Pachmann to play Chopin."*

Professor Walford Davies very convincingly demonstrated the value of the gramophone in teaching simple musical analysis and construction, and doubtless many will wish to avail themselves of his promised help in obtaining information regarding specially prepared records, especially of his own series of lecturettes, illustrated by Marjorie Hayward. Very few will forget that evening of sheer enjoyment of fine music, practical illumination as to method, and enthusiastic sharing of a great ideal.

* Professor Sir H. Walford Davies.

CHAPTER VIII

SETTLEMENTS AND INDUSTRY

SOCIAL reconstruction, and not mere amelioration of conditions, is one of the main objects of all Settlement work. Life in a poor neighbourhood or study of any subject that has living interest for men and women of the present time very speedily brings the resident or student up against the problems presented by "The System," and a sense of responsibility necessarily results. One of the most important questions with regard to the future of Settlement work is that of the function of Settlements in relation to Industry. Probably no one country can by itself find a sufficient answer. Industry has come to be as much a matter of international relationships as politics. Therein lies the value of bringing together the contributions of experience and reflection that come from all countries into which the Settlement Movement has penetrated. At the same time all change in the direction of a more satisfactory organisation and spirit within Industry itself must originate in definite local enquiry, thought and action.

"Settlements are not charitable institutions. They ought now to be above and beyond that out-worn point of view. If they will enter upon an exploration of the industrial world in the spirit of intellectual humility there are great opportunities before them.

"Conferences of employers and employed for the friendly discussion of the reasons of unrest are very

valuable. Settlements afford neutral ground upon which these conversations can take place. In the ordinary way representative employers and work-people meet only when there are points in dispute. Settlements could bring them together for other and general purposes; they could meet more freely and without being bound to a particular point, away from the atmosphere of controversy and the limelight of the Press, as individuals and unofficially. Conferences are valuable because they do enable people to appreciate other people's point of view. If you can get the employer to see that the work-people have a point of view which can be upheld, and *vice versa*, you have gone a long way towards a common policy. Such conferences improve personal relationships. It is difficult in official relationships to realise that the other people are human. If you can get people living together over a week-end as individuals, this desirable change will come about. Of course the improvement of personal relationships will not by themselves settle industrial questions, but they bring in the spirit of sweet reasonableness, which is a great gain. The suffering consumer ought to participate. It would be useful to arrange conferences between representatives of a municipality engaged in economic services and members of the general public.

"Such conferences might do something to show the social purpose of industry. This is a vague term. Some employers mean by it something quite different from what I mean. Let us sit down and think out what we mean by it. To say with the famous statesman, 'We are all Socialists now,' only makes confusion worse confounded. It does not help to use terms in 500 different ways. We must go back to fundamentals. Until people

in Settlements have thought out the social purpose of industry, we shall not make progress. If it has any meaning at all it means a real change of outlook. Thus the problem is one of enormous magnitude. In any attempt to deal with it Settlements have work before them for the next generation.

"There is a large field for Settlements in promoting industrial research and an enormous amount remains to be done. We are now living through a period of great instability. It is desirable and essential to go back to beginnings. In England there has been no great step in economic theory for fifty years. We have gone as far as we are likely to do along existing lines. We must seek new ways, and think out the problems of Industry afresh.

"Settlements by their nature have solid advantages for this task. You get in them people with a sense of social responsibility, public spirited people, people desiring to do good and right things. Settlements are situated amidst industrial areas, and therefore in the right atmosphere for this activity. Books by academic economists are comparatively valueless. It is necessary to get away from the academic and to go down into the middle of things. Settlements possess the ideal conditions for industrial research, both in special industries and into larger and more general problems. Contributions to the solution of these world-wide, many-sided problems such as that of unemployment may be made from the microscope of individual Settlements.

"No problem creates more bitterness of heart and spirit than this cancer of unemployment. If Settlements can help to remove this they will be doing much to lift a great load of care from the lives of the workers.



MR. J. J. MALLON.

Chairman of the Conference.

"Settlements can help even more in the study of social reactions. Settlements may not be able in some cases to study the industrial machine, but all can study the effect of the conditions of industry upon the life of the workers. Much has already been done by Settlement workers in West Ham, by Lady Bell at Middlesbrough, and by Mr. Seeböhm Rowntree. The results show that people living *in* the atmosphere created by economic and industrial conditions, and yet not *of* it, can bring an independent mind to bear. We do not know enough about the reactions of industrial conditions on home life and individual life. It is of the utmost importance that Settlements should give themselves to the study of one or more such aspects of industry and enlighten the world about facts as they are and about the reasons for them.

"Settlements have a natural and very great function in getting working people themselves to express what is in their minds. There is much objection to the carrying on of research by settlers assisted by working people. What is needed is subjective research on the part of the workers assisted by the settlers. I want to see the workers articulate. That involves a great educational question. The workers have a heritage common to all, and a special experience since the Industrial Revolution which ought to be valuable to society, but has never been utilised, because the people who know most can say least. Settlements should gather groups of workers together for team work of this kind. Stephen Reynolds did this, more or less, in writing his book *Seems So*.

"If Settlements are to take up that kind of work they ought to act in co-operation, interchanging the results of their research so that the Settlement movements the world over may combine their varied

experiences, and thus make an enormous contribution to the understanding and solution of industrial problems. Nothing that is really worth doing has been done yet. The things I most want to know I cannot get to know. The research has not so far been carried out.

"We want people who are disinterested, and who will dig about in their localities and get to understand the throbbing life there. If Settlements will do that they can drop their charity; they are not wanted to be kind to work-people; they are wanted to help them to get justice. If Settlements will do that they will 'win the thanks not only of working-people but of the whole community amidst which they dwell.'"

To such a challenge, presented more or less from the outside, Settlements can make but one response. This will be all the more effective in so far as they look back upon the experience which is now theirs, and perceive where weaknesses have lain. Thus a very natural tendency on the part of Settlement workers is to become so deeply interested in the affairs of the individual man and woman as to fail to look at the larger problem. Settlements, again, have been far too isolated from one another to make the impact upon society and upon industry that they might and should do. Recent developments, however, have led to a desire for closer contact, and for a more fundamental study of conditions. Miss McDowell has struck this note very firmly.

"A limited but fundamental experience is what I have had. I have lived in an inarticulate neighbourhood with unskilled, non-English speaking people for twenty-seven years. Education and leadership have been the keynotes of the first International Conference of Settlements; they must be the keynotes of Settlement work

* Mr. Arthur Greenwood.

everywhere. I believe in education thoroughly. I want to push on to the development of 'people's colleges' where they can get both what they want and what they need. Some Settlements, like Hull House, have always been such. 'There is no leadership' is the cry which is being raised everywhere. Those of us who have lived very close to Industry know what organised Industry is doing to crush personality. Unless there is more freedom to speak and act, more sharing in the control of factory conditions, more leisure, we cannot have personality. All our education and leadership cannot *create* personality. . . .

"We Settlement people live with folks who know what it means not to have an income that will enable you to nourish your children. In the great meat strike I heard it said in all languages, 'We can't live a decent American life on that wage. We can't be ill or die, or be buried decently. We can't educate our children on it.' That was why the workers remained out for six weeks in order to gain $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents. an hour. They talked freely to us because they know that some of us have the faith they have, which is very necessary. The world has to learn that Michael Donnelly represents just as great an interest as S. Ogden Armour. But have the Settlements learnt it? . . .

"We can approach the economists and say, 'Here is an approach to the problem that we have discovered through neighbourly relations. This means that we have to develop the right spirit, as well as the right method, in research. I protected my neighbourhood for a long time from research students. I said that no research should be done till we were sure of the attitude in mind and heart of the students, who must come to live with us. When they made their investigations their results

were just what we ourselves had reached by everyday experience. What we need is not research simply for the sake of facts, but in order that we may get a message which will bring about a change. To live with folks—that is the fundamental thing. It is our business to gather through neighbourly experiences facts which form an approach to the problem.

“Some day we shall develop in America such an educational movement as there is in England. The Unions are waking up. At Harvard there is a Trade Union College. Summer Schools are growing. But the Settlements are not clear in their own minds. They cannot accomplish anything like they ought till they are clear, and have a strong faith in this great movement on the part of the working people. It is not a question of employers and employed, but a great human question that goes to the roots of the life of all of us.”*

It is often said that the working people themselves are apathetic or undisciplined. The argument is advanced that under democratic forms of government they have power in their own hands, but either do not use it or use it unwisely; bad as conditions are, there is in existence much in the way of legal or other provision for the express purpose of improving them, yet it is not utilised by those for whose express benefit it has been created. Such an argument, however, is invalidated by a very simple fact—the blank ignorance that often prevails, through no fault of those who suffer from it.

“The code of Industrial Law in England is imperfect, and the application of it is defective, because people whom it affects do not know its contents and are not given the opportunity of expressing their view. To

* Miss Mary McDowell.

bring them to this knowledge and to help them to gain this opportunity is our task.

"Working people often feel that the Law was made by the rich for the poor. We can show them that it is not quite like that." In the eyes of the workman the Law is something in the form of a blue hat and a truncheon always moving him on. Actually it is something meant for his protection. We ought to see that the statutes actually in existence are understood and enforced. Settlements ought to take steps to know when complaints are made and to see that these are passed on to the proper authorities.

"At the heart of the industrial trouble is the fact that when a group of people have been associated for production of commodities, a surplus arises, but there is no principle of equality or of common sense applied in the distribution of that surplus. What can Settlements do? Should they formulate a programme of industrial or political action? That is not within their province. Their business is to throw light upon the problem, show what it really is and create an atmosphere in which a solution can be reached. . . .

"The extent of mutual suspicion between employers and employed is almost incalculable. Settlements can help to dissipate this by conferences. It may be said that in these days of limited liability companies and Trusts it is impossible to reach the real employer. That is no reason for doing nothing. Settlements should get hold of the man who actually runs the local factory, and bring him into the right kind of contact with the people who represent the workers. . . .

"The enunciation of a standard of life is a very important task for us. We cannot go about our districts, seeing there men and women demonstrably unable to

live on their wages, and remain indifferent. We must draw attention to the facts. Settlements have been guilty of silence and acquiescence with regard to wages and conditions. When the English Board of Trade Report on Industrial Conditions appeared in 1909, Settlements sat down under it. They should have cried aloud that such things are indefensible and they would have rallied the whole community. There is no need for exaggeration or venom. There is no intention of hurting anybody. It should be clear that the sole intention is that of helping. It is essential that Settlements should say that these evil conditions exist, and should make the public opinion of their districts take account of them. They may in the process lose some supporters, but they will gain others. . . .

"We have been very deficient in service on behalf of children. People of all kinds find unity in the love and defence of children ; yet in factory after factory children are cramped and ill-treated. We should draw attention to this and have a positive remedy to offer. We also ought to take our share in such activities as those of 'After Care Committees.'

"Research in the right temper has the greatest value, and in some ways can be carried out immediately. The Cambridge House Bulletins are an illustration of what can be done. Each is the work of two or three men who make a thorough study of the particular subject in question, especially in relation to current developments, and present in half a dozen pages a summary of facts and figures. The Bulletins make no pronouncements with regard to policy ; they simply clear up the facts for the ordinary men—those facts which you cannot get from the Press or from manifestoes. The public, which wants to do the right thing, so often does not

know where the right resides because it cannot obtain a fair, impartial, accurate and adequate statement of the facts themselves. If individual Settlements cannot undertake work of this kind, groups of Settlements can, and if between them they cannot produce the men qualified to do the work, they can find such men ready and able to do it in any big town.

"We need a very much more careful and detailed study of the life of the workers than we have. For example, what is the effect upon the average workman of the fact that he receives his maximum wage at twenty-one, and has nothing before him that can be called progress? Should not we lose heart if we could get no recompense, reward or distinction after the age of twenty-one? Such a fate benumbs and paralyses a man.

"The problem with which we are dealing is a particularly intractable one. It will never be solved till we get both sides to agree to our formula that Industry is not the property of the workers, nor is it something out of which a fortune is to be made, but it is solely for the service of humanity. It is difficult to get this into the hearts of employers and employed in the mass. You must catch your employer young and put him into touch with workers till he, too, realises the horror of the workers' lot, in being hired, dismissed and perhaps ruined, at the will of another. Trust the young employer. There are more and more who have the new spirit, who are as ready to serve the community honourably, if it would give them the chance, as to work merely for themselves in their own interests."*

The outlook of Settlement workers in America and England is in no sense different from that of those in

* Mr. J. J. Mallon.

other countries, though national conditions must necessarily influence the particular trend of need and of effort in each. On the whole, however, the general lines of thought and policy indicated above are endorsed by Settlement workers in many lands.

Thus, for example, in Austria much improvement in the conditions of labour has been made by recent legislation, such as that which institutes an eight-hours day. But it is feared by experienced Settlement workers, however, that working people will not rise to it, and will not gain the full benefit of these new possibilities, without better education. The international question arises here, too, since the prevailing economic instability and the privation from which the whole country is suffering induces pessimism, and cuts the nerve of constructive effort.

"That the ultimate policy can never be a mechanical one is clear. It is good to have an eight-hours day, but the question is not so much one of quantity as one of quality. I worked eighty hours a week when I was twelve. My joy now is to work eighteen hours a day at work that I love. I don't want to be cut down to eight, or six, or four, provided that my work is a living expression of my personality. We are dealing with the results of the Industrial Revolution, which made work not a joy but a burden and a horror. We shall not escape from these until we agree in holding dear all that is finest in humanity, and refuse to sink any man in his class, recognising that every one of us gets more from the community than we can possibly repay."*

In Japan industrial conditions have developed with extraordinary rapidity. The situation there shows

* Mr. Bridges.

that no mere superficial summing up of facts will suffice as a basis for an adequate policy in industry. "Recently an exhaustive report of 500 or 600 pages was issued, giving infinite details of the life of the people in the slums, their income and expenditure, the number of people to a room, the number of children in a family, and so forth. From these one can understand their conditions—but not their life. Another book was issued dealing with the psychology of the poor. It contained no such details, but it set out the causes of many evils, such as class strife and prostitution. Research into life can be accomplished only by Settlers. Valuable as statistical reports are, it is personal reports that give most assistance towards solving the problem."*

Courage, sympathy and clear-sightedness are all needed if this task is to be attempted. Courage is required, because, if publicity is given to the results of the enquiries, these results in an industrial town will be damning to the system. Publication is impossible unless the Settlement has a financial basis other than dependence upon employers. Clear-sightedness is needed: "The true function of industry is to serve the community, and therefore to get the best possible results with the least possible effort and waste. Such service can only be based upon rational co-operation between employers and employed. That definition was agreed upon by a small International Conference of ten or eleven nations at our house in Normandy last year."† Sympathy is needed because "working people do not any longer desire to be regarded as subjects of study. They want to be helped to understand the historical

* Mr. N. Yamamasu.

† Mlle. R. de Montmort.

process by which things have come to be what they are, so that they may build a new order well. We ought to serve them by introducing them to constructive ideas and not simply by tabulating the wreckage of the past."*

But above all, one of the fundamental things Settlements have to do with regard to the industrial situation is to get people who come to Settlements to put the best construction on the acts of others and not the worst, and to engender this spirit throughout the whole community.†

On the other hand, "We have been too long content with neutrality. The great fact of social life is the contest between right and wrong. I know nothing that stands more for the class spirit than organised Labour. We must stand for truth and fearlessness, and be ready to antagonise wrong aims on the part of either Labour or Capital."‡

* Mr. Chas. Simpson.

† Mr. H. Sewell Harris.

‡ Mr. Bradford.

CHAPTER IX

SETTLEMENTS AND HOUSING

IN the nature of the case, one of the first social evils against which the early Settlements found themselves fighting was that of inadequate and insanitary housing conditions. In the course of nearly fifty years public opinion has been considerably stirred as a result of Settlement activities, and a certain amount has been done to improve the old, bad conditions out of existence. Some Settlement workers have become experts on the question. Some, like Mrs. Barnett, have become pioneers of the garden suburb or garden city movement, in the hope of giving working folk a chance to live natural and healthy lives within reach of the scene of their daily toil. But it will have been noticed that with lamentable frequency reports of the various activities carried on by Settlements in the score of countries represented have returned to this problem. Overcrowding of the population, with all its attendant disabilities and inhumanities, either creates or complicates the social defects and diseases for which Settlements are seeking remedies, and it invariably proves a grave hindrance to constructive work for education, recreation, health, industrial progress, social life, and spiritual development. The war appears to have made matters worse in all the countries concerned, since building was not only practically suspended during the period of hostilities, but has not been carried on at the

normal rate since. Thus the effect of war-time arrest and post-war arrears must be added to pre-war deficiencies. In the devastated area of France a further urgent need presents itself; there it is not a question of increasing that accommodation in villages and hamlets which, though the fact is so generally forgotten, is often as bad as that in city slums, but of complete replacement.

Most countries have made some sort of effort to meet the situation. Some optimists would have us believe that these have been more or less successful. "In England since 1919 public authorities and public utility societies between them have built more than 150,000 houses, of which ninety-five per cent. are good. One Yorkshire miner's wife, after moving into one of these new cottages, said it was like going to heaven! Certainly life has been transformed for 750,000 people. Twelve houses to the acre in urban areas and eight in rural is, on the whole, a great advance on the pre-war dreary row of workmen's dwellings. 12,000 Local Authorities are involved, and generally speaking the administration is stable and good. It is true that houses cost £1,100 or £1,200 which before the war would have cost £300 to £400. But the Authorities are the victims of those private firms and individuals who have exploited the scarcity of raw materials, and in addition the inevitable increase in the cost of labour must be taken into account. But when these factors have been recognised, and when the charges due to greed and illegitimate competition have been eliminated, great housing schemes such as will relieve existing pressure and misery are bound to be costly to the community. If we are going to build a new nation we must be willing to pay the bill. We realise the cost of putting things

right, but never that of letting them drift. There is urgent need for the cultivation of wisdom and public spirit in the community at large if the housing problem is to be solved.

"Before the war we had 5,000,000 people in overcrowded or insanitary houses. During the war feeling was raised about 'homes' not worth fighting for. We hope that during the next twenty years we may sweep the country clear of bad housing. But it will require an immense co-operative effort. We spent £10,000,000 on a vain endeavour to eliminate tuberculosis. But tuberculosis is a disease of darkness and springs from bad nursing and unhealthy industrial, as well as unwholesome personal, conditions. Real statesmanship and determination are required to set the country right. . . . You come to settle in slum districts, but you come from above to settle, with a knowledge and experience of the better things that make life worth living. You have a duty. The measure of your gratitude for your share in those better things is what you actually do for those who haven't had them. The housing problem is your problem. Don't leave it to the working classes."*

Even had the war not intensified the badness of conditions, a more statesmanlike method of dealing with them would have become imperative. This conclusion had gradually been forcing itself upon all who considered the problem in its dimensions and perspective. As Settlement workers have done valuable pioneer work within their own neighbourhoods, so now they must be among the foremost to think nationally on this very vital subject.

* Mr. H. R. Aldridge.

“Don't be excessively or exclusively interested in immediate local conditions. Nothing will be achieved without taking a broad view. On the other hand it is equally important to avoid generalising and never getting down to local proposals. We need closer co-operation between those who are living and working in a neighbourhood and those who are dealing with matters municipally and nationally. Settlements have not taken sufficient interest in housing from the wider point of view. Here, however, as locally, they can render valuable service.

“The general tendency has been to clear individual slums and build better tenements, but not to deal with housing and town-planning in such a way as to meet the needs of the whole population. The famous Boundary Street area affords an illustration of the result. Bad houses were demolished and fine new blocks of dwellings put up, but nearly as many people were accommodated as before, because ‘people must live near their work.’ Much money is spent, rather better local conditions are brought about, but most of the old slum-dwellers go out to other slums. What kind of practical policy will not only improve immediate conditions, but also make a radical alteration and forestall further developments along the old, wrong lines?

“In cities you have people who are not only living in dilapidated houses, but are far removed from the country and from open spaces. So long as that is so you will never create the possibilities necessary to the full realisation of personality. Hampstead Garden Suburb has many working people living in it. There is no truth in the argument that such folk will not go to such suburbs, or will not stay there, or if they do will only make them more like slums than gardens. Given proper conditions

human nature will respond, provided that there is continued human interest and neighbourliness of relationships on the part of those people who started the new development. The mere provision of houses is not enough. . . .

"New York has built upwards. It had a population of 70,000 a century ago ; to-day it has one of 7,000,000. The workers are wasting money, time and energy in going to and from their work ; the cost of living is higher than elsewhere ; the worst congestion is in the centre. The same thing has happened in London, Paris, Bombay. The bigger the city, the higher is the cost of living and transport, the worse are the conditions of education and recreation. You can never solve the problem until you work on the broadest possible lines and lay down large plans of reform, co-ordinating housing, transport, and industry so as to meet human needs. What is wanted is a real decentralisation of population, and not merely a redistribution of it in suburbs and outskirts of big cities. New self-contained towns are required, with residential and factory areas properly planned and means of communication effectively established. . . .

"This is not only possible ; it is actually being done. At Letchworth you have industries and workpeople moving out together—factories built on model lines and workpeople's houses within walking distance, but yet surrounded by gardens and open spaces in which it is fit for children to play. A similar development is taking place at Welwyn. Factories are being transferred to these little towns, thirty miles or more from London, from overcrowded quarters of the metropolis like Kennington and Clerkenwell, so making more room in these congested areas. . . .

"That is an ultimate solution. What can be done

meanwhile? Work for this ultimate solution while dealing with the situation actually existing in your neighbourhood. Get the Local Authority to buy up slum areas at a reasonable price. Improve these by pulling down bad houses and building good ones as an interim measure, while all along you are preparing plans for satellite cities. Thus you make practical local progress and at the same time prepare for the fulfilment of an ideal that yields an ultimate and satisfactory solution of the housing problem."*

It is no longer possible to consider any of these great social questions by itself. Town and countryside, physical life and moral life, work and play are inter-related. As the Settlement worker who approaches one aspect of community life speedily finds himself concerned with the whole, so is it in the wider field of national and international life. Moreover, it is as misleading and unpractical to confine any survey or estimate to the immediate present as it is to think and work in terms of one comparatively small area.

"It is important to consider tendencies as well as conditions. New York is taking the housing question more seriously than is London. Under the guidance of the Russell Sage Foundation it is considering an area of thirty miles' radius from the city, and has Commissions at work on the physical, industrial, economic and social problems of New York viewed as an integral part of new plans for housing and town planning. Any successful effort must be a radical one from the outset. It is essential to begin with the conditions of land-development. There lies the solution of the problem of congestion. There also lies the solution of the rural

* Capt. Richard Reiss.

problem. Isolation and stagnation in rural districts is productive of social degeneration to an equal or even greater degree than is overcrowding in cities.”*

“I am a convinced believer in enabling people to own their own houses as an encouragement and incentive to the development of better housing. In Canada there is an Advisory Board which has been of great service in securing progress on right lines. The plan of allowing five years’ relief of local taxation, instead of rent restriction, has been tried with great success.

“The educational aspect of the question is an important one. Universities have a part to play. Harvard has a good School of Architecture and may institute a degree. But we have hardly as yet begun to build a real science of housing and town-planning. In Canada and America technical education has ensured the efficiency of Industry, but there has been no sociological thinking on the part of the people. Outside the factory the various factors of housing, town-planning and transport, etc., have not been correlated, and so you have the failure to make industrial areas really habitable and attractive.”†

The function of Settlements in relation to housing and town-planning would seem to be two-fold. There is the task of investigating the conditions of overcrowding that are prevalent, creating public opinion in favour of an adequate constructive scheme, and helping to work out the basis of such a scheme. But there is also the task of helping to create and maintain the outward flow of population from the congested area to the garden suburb or the satellite city.

* Capt. Richard Reiss.

† Mr. Thomas Adams.

"Everything that a Settlement is doing can be better done in a garden city," says the Rev. Dugald MacFadyen. The reply to this rather sweeping statement is that of Mr. Kennedy, who points out that there will always be people who prefer the town to the country, and there will be a tendency to continue in cities that congestion which makes Settlements necessary, while again, as Mr. Wheeler has observed, the flight from the centre of a fine old town to suburbs or satellite cities is apt to leave slums where Settlement work is more than ever needed. At the same time, "Settlement work is a great step upward in the attempt to help people towards finer living, because it deals with life as a whole, and refuses to make that fatal division between body and spirit, work and wages, leisure and pleasure. Similarly a garden city is not a mere dormitory. It is a complete section of a large town moved several miles out into the country, and possessed of a real civic spirit. There a man may not get higher pay, but he gains a larger real wage because he can get more for the money he earns. Settlements ought to link the two things—improvement of city life in industrial areas, and development of life in garden and satellite cities, getting young married people from the former to go out and settle in the latter."*

From Settlement to Garden City is perhaps a natural line of progress. At least it is true that no Settlement can work for a solution of the problems that press upon it at its own door without looking out over the whole country, and seeking a new way of life for the whole nation of which it is a part.

* The Rev. D. MacFadyen.

CHAPTER X

DAYS TO COME

THE final meeting of the Conference took the form of a garden party at Cliveden, the beautiful country home of Lord and Lady Astor, whose welcome to their guests was that of fellow-workers. The week had been a crowded one. For months previously there had been high expectations of what these days together might accomplish. Had those anticipations been fulfilled? What gain could be recorded? What new visions had appeared?

The setting of our gathering was symbolic. It was fitting that we should have come together, out of cities in all parts of the world, at Toynbee Hall. Surrounded there by the perpetually challenging conditions with which we are only too familiar in our own Settlements, we could not lack the necessary notes of reality and urgency in our discussions. Now we had come out by the open road into the freshness and freedom of the countryside. We were guests in a house where great possessions are regarded in the light of stewardship, and the demands of the spirit of democracy are met with something more than lip service. Standing on the terrace, those who addressed us could literally, as well as metaphorically, take long views.

Once more we were reminded that adventure is the breath of life to Settlements, that complacency is deadly, and that the good is the enemy of the best.

Mrs. Barnett summed up for us the impressions of the week :

" The International Conference, considered broadly, has left two main ideas in my mind—

" The first is that of reverence for the marvellous spirit of sacrifice in volunteer labourers. The unconscious humility of the Settlement workers, and the magnitude of their gift of service, must make all outside observers feel themselves unworthy. What can a Conference do more than convict of sin and convince of righteousness ?

" The second thought that the Conference has left with me, and I offer it with diffidence, is to wonder whether the workers do not need to have a higher ideal for the people they serve. Have they not, perhaps, been too ready to accept the social conditions that exist, and set to work to patch, and make the best of their results ? Would it not be better to buckle on armour, and strong in the knowledge that there are many behind the leaders, fight the devil of complacency.

" My husband had a thought which often helps me. I will pass it on to you—my gift to you of his gift to me. Canon Barnett had an abhorrence of cant, and rarely talked as most parsons do about prayer, but he sometimes spoke of 'sitting down with our Christed selves,' and the duty of helping others to recognise that they had 'Christed selves': in other words, to visualise ideals for ourselves and our neighbours, for our town and nation.

" And as we visualise ideals they will become more and more real, and so more insistent.

" Pardon me for drawing an example from what so deeply interests me : I mean housing.

"If we visualised every family in a home—not a habitation—it would come to pass. Homes would be built. Slums would disappear.

"To accept what is wrong as irremediable is to commit the unpardonable sin of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. To believe that Evil is stronger than Good blocks the path of the coming of the Spirit.

"Perhaps the knowledge that we have planted the seed of an International Federation of Settlements will make us all feel stronger. In Industry, in Education, in Medicine, in the Church, those chiefly interested have found strength by uniting.

"The Settlements have now fallen into line by federating, and those of us who have cared for the part will now care for the whole. I am confident that the work near at hand will not be less well done because we know and care about other Settlements in other lands.

"The near view is helped by the far view and over both is the Infinite Sky, whose blue is the colour of Hope."

* * *

A first International Conference could be only a beginning. It revealed an unsuspected extent and variety in Settlement work throughout the world. It showed a heartening unity of spirit and motive issuing in very diverse activities. It helped those who were there to visualise outstanding problems and to see more clearly the best way of approach to effective solutions of them. It established the necessity of developing in every country a strong national movement, comprehensive, definite in its aims, flexible in its methods, uncompromising in the standards and quality of its

work. ' But it made inevitable some provision for the development, as a result, of a world movement.

Therefore it was unanimously agreed that an International Conference of Settlements Continuation Committee, comprising not more than four members appointed by the Settlement Movement in each co-operating country, should be set up. This will keep the various national movements in communication with each other, will facilitate personal intercourse between Settlement workers of different countries, and will arrange for another International Conference in 1925.

Meantime we go forward in our several countries with a new sense of inspiration, unity and freedom.

APPENDIX I.

THE BUSINESS SESSION

A special session of the delegates was held on July 14th, to consider the formation of a Continuation Committee, when the following resolutions were carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION No. 1. (Moved by Mlle. R. de Montmort and seconded by Mr. Bradford.)

" That the following be adopted as the general scheme for the Constitution and Working of the Committee:—

SCHEME.

" 1. The name of the Committee shall be:—

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SETTLEMENTS CONTINUATION COMMITTEE.

" 2. The purpose of the Continuation Committee shall be to maintain and develop, on a strictly non-political basis, the relations already established between the Settlements in different countries:

(a) by providing for the systematic interchange of information in regard to national developments in the Settlement movement:

(b) by facilitating personal intercourse between Settlements in the various countries:

(c) by preparing for a fully representative International Conference in 1925:

(d) by taking such other action as may promote the social reforms for which the Settlements are working.

" 3. The Settlement Movement in each country shall be entitled to appoint not more than four members to serve on the Continuation Committee, in addition to the executive officers of any national organisation of settlements, who shall be ex-officio members of the Committee. Each country represented shall have only one vote. One of the members from each country shall act as Correspondence Secretary for that country.

"4. The work of the Continuation Committee shall be conducted mainly by correspondence, but one meeting shall be arranged annually if possible.

"5. The Settlement Movement in each country represented on the Continuation Committee shall be invited to make some contribution towards the necessary expenditure on postage, etc., but representation on the Continuation Committee shall not involve any financial responsibility."

RESOLUTION No. 2. (Moved by Herr Walther Classen and seconded by Mr. Bradford.)

"That the secretariat of the Continuation Committee be situated in London."

RESOLUTION No. 3. (Moved by Mr. J. J. Mallon and seconded by Mr. N. Yamamasu.)

"That Miss Jane Addams and Mrs. S. A. Barnett be invited to be ex-officio members of the Committee, and that Miss Jane Addams be invited to act as Chairman."

RESOLUTION No. 4. (Moved by Miss Coolidge and seconded by Mr. C. E. Elcock.)

"That Capt. L. F. Ellis be invited to act as Hon. Secretary to the Committee."

On the motion of Miss H. Richter, seconded by Dr. J. L. Elliott the very cordial thanks of the Conference were conveyed to Capt. L. F. Ellis for his work in connection with the organisation of the Conference, and to Mr. J. J. Mallon, Mr. E. St. John Catchpool, and the Residents of Toynbee Hall, for the hospitable arrangements they had made for the reception and entertainment of the delegates.

APPENDIX II.

OFFICERS OF THE CONFERENCE :

President : MRS. S. A. BARNETT, C.B.E.

Chairman : J. J. MALLON.

Hon. Sec. : CAPT. L. F. ELLIS, D.S.O., M.C.

Assistant { E. ST. JOHN CATCHPOOL.
Hon. Secretaries { BASIL A. YEAXLEE.

AMERICAN DELEGATION.

BOSTON, MASS.

Boston Social Union, 93, Tyler St. Coolidge, Miss.
 Peck, Miss.
 Perkins, Miss.

Nat. Federation of Settlements, 20,
 Union Park Kennedy, Albert J.
 Norfolk House Centre Soule, Frederick J.
 South End House Barrows, Miss
 Barrows, Miss E. G.

CHICAGO, ILL.

University of Chicago Settlement .. McDowell, Miss Mary.

CLEVELAND, OHIO.

Cleveland Art Museum Underhill, Miss Gertrude.
 Goodrich House Gannett, Miss Alice P.
 Hiram House Bellamy, George A.

COLUMBUS, OHIO.

Godman Guild Fravel, Miss Elena.
 Wheeler, Mr. and Mrs. James W.

DANVILLE, VA.

Wesley Community House .. Cole, Miss Sue.

ENSLEY, ALA.

Ensley Community House, Birmingham
 ham Crim, Miss Dorothy L.

HIGHLAND PARK, MICH.

Community Centre Bell, Miss.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

Christamore House Carey, Miss Martha.
Edwards, Mrs. Olive.

JERSEY CITY, N.J.

Goodwill Community House .. Hollingshead, Mr. and Mrs. G.

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE.

Wesley House Allen, Miss Bessie.

NEW YORK.

Arnold Toynbee House Levin, Miss Gertrude.
Baden Street Social Settlement,
Rochester Bigelow, Mrs.
Nat. Fed. of Settlements, 436, W.
27th Street Elliott, Dr. John L.
United Neighbourhood Houses, 70,
Fifth Avenue Righter, Miss Harriet.

PHILADELPHIA.

Neighbourhood Centre Kohn, Miss C. Marion.
Kultchar, Mrs. M. R.
The Lighthouse, 146, W. Lehigh
Avenue Bradford, Mr. and Mrs.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Neighbourhood House, 470 N. St., S.W. Bigelow, Miss May Thorpe.

AUSTRIAN DELEGATION.

VIENNA.

The Settlement, Effingergasse 23 Federn, Miss Else.
Löhr, Miss Helene.

CANADIAN DELEGATION.

TORONTO.

Memorial Institute, 684, Richmond
Street, W. McFarlane, Miss Nellie.
University Settlement, 95, Peter St. . . . Campbell, Miss Florence.
Heeley, Miss Marjorie.

DUTCH DELEGATION.

AMSTERDAM.

Ons Huis. Rozenstraat 8/12 ..	..	Gischler, Miss C.
School voor Maatschappelijk Werk,		Asser, Miss J. E.
78, Pieter de Hooghstraat ..	..	Bloemberger, Miss W. L.
		Burdet, Miss E.
		Dirksen, Mrs. L. Ch. P.
		Henniger, Miss H. M. C.
		Huysinga, Miss A. M.
		Knappert, Miss E. C.
		Tollenaar, Miss M. W.
		Valchenier Suringar, Miss E. C.
		Wagtho, Miss W. C. J. G.

DORDRECHT.

Prevention of Cruelty to Children	Sickenga-Knappert, Mrs.
--------------------------------------	----	-------------------------

LEIDEN.

Leidsche Volkshuis	Wensen, Miss Alice van.
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ROTTERDAM.

Instituut voor de Rijpere Jeugd te		Stolk, R. van.
Rotterdam, Schiekade 98a.	Voerman, P.
		Weydung, Miss A.
		Wijk, Dr. and Mrs. van.
Ons Huis, Gouvernestraat 133 ..	..	Dekoe, A.
		Eschaurier, Miss E.

VIERHOUTEN.

Den Oldenhof	Molenaar, Miss G. P.
--------------------	----	----------------------

FRENCH DELEGATION.

BLÉRANCOURT (AISNE).

Comité Americain de Regions	Benson, Miss P.
--------------------------------	----	-----------------

BAZEILLES ARDENNES.

Abbaye de P. Ormeau Haut-Mont-		
villers .. ..	..	Devin, Mme Paul.

MALHERBE (EURE).

Chateau d'Argeronne. La Haye	Montmort, Mlle. de.
---------------------------------	----	---------------------

MULHOUSE.

Foyer de Alliées, 126, Chaussée de		
Dornach .. ..	..	Blouay, Mlle.

PARIS.

Fondation Taufflieb, 41, Rue du Pré St. Gervais	Moore, Mlle.
La Maison pour Tous, 76, Rue Mouffetard	Ste. Claire de Ville, Mlle. Walther, Mme.
La Residence Sociale, 3, Rue des Champs, Levallois	Bassot, Mlle. Metge, Mlle.
Le Moulin Vert, 92, Rue du Moulin Vert, Gentilly	Petit, Mlle. Albert. Viollet, M. l'Abbé.
Les Villages Libérés, 70, Rue Bertrand	Gourlet, Mlle. de. Sumpt, Mlle.
Pour l'Enfance, 6, Rue Clavel ..	Godot, Mlle.
Secours d'Urgence, 2, Brd. Lanne ..	Grange, Mlle. Javal, Mlle. Vidal, Mme.
Secours d'Urgence, Foyer de Berlincourt, Pas de Calais	Dumont, Mlle.
Villages Réconstitués, 78, Avenue Mozart	Seligmann, Mlle.

VIC SUR AISNE.

Comité Americain des Régions Devastées, Vic sur Aisne ..	Chapin, Miss.
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GERMAN DELEGATION.

BERLIN.

Soziale Arbeitsgemeinschaft, Fruchtstr 63, Berlin, O. 17	Brandt, Fraulein Ida. Snay, Dr. Margarete.
Steinmetzstrasse 49, W. 57	Picht, Dr. Werner.

EISENACH.

Thuringische Volkshochschulbewegung	Fuchs, Dr. Emil.
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FRANKFORT.

Bund für Volksbildung, Eschenheimer Anlage	Epstein, Dr. W.
--	-----------------

HAMBURG.

Soziales Amt der Studentenschaft, Billhörner, Mühlenweg	Erichson, Kurt.
Soziales Amt und Deutsche Sozialstudentische Arbeitsgemeinschaft, Universität	Anthony, Albert
Soziale Arbeitsgemeinschaft, Obenborgfelde, 64	Classen, Walther.

LEIPZIG.

Soziale Arbeitsgemeinschaft, Göritz-
hain, Cossen Gramm, Hermann.

MÜNCHEN.

Deutsche Sozial-Studentische Arbeits-
gemeinschaft, Universität .. Bohl, Wilhelm.

JAPANESE DELEGATION.

TOKYO.

Board of Education Yamamasu, N.
Majima, M. P.
Nakarai, K.
Toda, Teizo.

NORWEGIAN DELEGATION.

KRISTIANIA.

Settlementet, Fossverin 19 Rolsdorph, Miss Emma.

SWEDISH DELEGATION.

STOCKHOLM.

Birkagarden, Karlberg Svagen 86 .. Branting, Mrs.
Thorvall, Miss Dagny.

RUSSIAN REPRESENTATIVE.

S. A. Vartolomeeff, of 3, Maiden Lane, Queen Street, E. 1, attended the Conference as a representative from the First Experimental Station of Public Education of the People's Commissariat of Public Education, Moscow.

BRITISH DELEGATION.

BIRKENHEAD.

Beechcroft Settlement, 15, Hollybank Fleming, Horace.
Road Harris, E. Sewell.

BIRMINGHAM.

Birmingham Settlement, 318, Summer Dewar, Miss K. C.
Lane Gabb, Miss G. F.
Fircroft Settlement, Bournville .. Leeson, Cecil.
Harvey, W. F.
Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak Kydd, J. C.

BRISTOL.

- University Settlement, Barton Hill .. Cashmore, Miss.
Falk, Mrs.
The Folk House, College Green .. Sturge, Paul D.

CHESTERFIELD.

- Chesterfield Settlement, Church Lane Carruthers, Mrs. J., C.H.
Willoughby, Miss G.

DUNDEE.

- Grey Lodge Settlement Batting, Miss Elizabeth.
Paterson, Miss M. M.

EDINBURGH.

- University Settlement, High School Drysdale, Miss G.
Yards Gibson, Miss.

GATESHEAD-ON-TYNE.

- Bensham Grove Settlement .. Jowitt, Miss Lettice.
Merz, Miss T.

GLASGOW.

- Queen Margaret Settlement, 77, Port Banks, Miss.
Street Urie, Miss.

LEEDS.

- Swarthmore Settlement, 4, Wood-
house Square Dodgshun, Ernest.

LETCHWORTH.

- Adult Educational Settlement, Dudley, James.
Museum Buildings Grubb, Miss.

LIVERPOOL.

- University Settlement, Nile Street .. Mabane, W.
Mabane, Mrs.
Victoria Settlement, Netherfield Road, McCrindell, Miss.
N. Wells, Miss M. B.

LONDON.

- Balham Educational Settlement ..
47, Ramsden Rd., S.W.12 .. Fullwood, E. J.
Bermondsey Settlement, S.E.16. .. Scott-Lidgett, Rev. J.
Whitehurst, W.
Bishop Creighton House, 378, Lillie Anley, Miss.
Road, S.W.6. Wickham, Miss.
Canning Town Women's Settlement, Harrod, Miss E. M.
Cumberland Road, E.13. .. Spicer, Miss C.

Dame Colet House, Mile End Road,	Robinson, Mrs. Carew.
E.1.	Searle, Miss M.
Dockland Settlement, Canning Town,	Duncan, C.
E.18.	Kennedy-Cox, R.
John Woolman Educational Settlement, 28, Duncan Terrace, N.1	Simpson, Charles R.
	Simpson, Mrs.
Lady Margaret Hall Settlement, 131, Kennington Road, S.E.11. . .	Locket, Miss W.
	Thicknesse, Miss K.
Leysian Hostel, 112, City Road, E.C.1.	Isard, J. C.
Magdalen College Mission, 1, Oakley Square, N.W.1.	Jellicoe, Rev. J. B. L.
	Maryon-Wilson, P.
Mansfield House, 89, Barking Road, E.16.	Knott, A. G.
	Reade, A. R.
Mary Ward Settlement, Tavistock Place, W.C.1	Ibbetson, Miss.
	Plumer, Hon. Eleanor.
Maurice Hostel, 32, Herbert Street, N.1.	Wragge, Miss M.
Oxford and Bermondsey Club, Hankey Place, Long Lane, S.E.1. . .	Llewellyn, W. W.
Oxford House, Bethnal Green, E.2. . .	Grove, Colonel E.
	Seymour, M. R.
Presbyterian Settlement, 56, East India Dock Road, E.14. . .	Phillip, Mrs. Henderson.
	Mackay, Miss.
Ratcliffe Settlement, E.14.	Hambrough, Miss Sybil.
	Scott, Miss C. R.
St. George's Jewish Settlement, Bett Street, Commercial Road, E.1 . .	Henriques, B. L. O.
	Henriques, Mrs.
St. Helen's House, 93, The Grove, Stratford, E.15.	St. Hill, Miss A.
St. Hilda's Settlement, 3, Old Nichol Street, E.2.	Bruce, Miss F. M.
	Plews, Miss.
St. Margaret's House, Bethnal Green, E.2.	Havergal, Miss H.
	Warwick, Mrs.
St. Mildred's House, Millwall, E.14. .	Wyvill, Miss.
Talbot Settlement, 48, Addington Square, S.E.5.	Middlemast, Miss.
	Taylor, Mrs. Charles.
Time and Talents Settlement, 187, Bermondsey Street, S.E.1. . .	Glasson, Miss Irene.
	Tritton, Miss Violet A.
Toynbee Hall, Commercial Street, E.1.	Lacey, H.
	Robinson, S.
United Girls' Schools Settlement, 19, Peckham Road, S.E.5 . .	Ashley, Miss.
	Hodge, Miss E. de Burgho.
Walthamstow Settlement, Greenleaf Road, Walthamstow	Rowntree, M. L.
	Bartlett, P. W.
Women's University Settlement, 44, Nelson Sq., Blackfriars Rd., S.E.1.	Sharpley, Miss M. McN.
	Townsend, Miss A.

MANCHESTER.

University Settlement, Ancoats. .. Rogers, Miss B. B.
 Wilson, A. C.

MIDDLESBROUGH.

Middlesbrough Settlement, 132, New-
 port Road Prinn, Miss F. A.

OXFORD.

Barnett House, Broad Street .. Butler, Miss C. V.
 Hadow, Miss Grace.

SHEFFIELD.

Croft House Settlement Sister Edith.
 Rutland Hall Settlement, Neepsend Sister Agnes.
 Sheffield Educational Settlement, 14,
 Oxford Street Freeman, Arnold.

YORK.

The Settlement, 31, St. Mary's .. Crosland, W. R.

N.B.—The above list contains only the names of officially appointed representatives. Many other Settlement Workers from the countries mentioned in the list were present at the Conference.

